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# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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# Daily Report
## Central Eurasia

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# Leaders Visit Turkey for Ozal Funeral

## Azerbaijani, Armenian Presidents Meet

*LD2104185493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1812 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara April 21 TASS— Azeri President Abdulfaz Elchibey and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan met in a hotel in Ankara on Wednesday where the Azeri president is staying.

Earlier in the day they had a 15-minute conversation in the Turkish parliament at a reception given at the occasion of the death of Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

The meeting showed that the sides have a unanimous opinion on the necessity of terminating the armed conflict. The Armenian president said that he was pleased with today's talks held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. He said that Armenia and Azerbaijan are ready for serious talks in the future in the framework of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Today's talks between the Azeri and Armenian presidents became possible due to mediatory efforts made by Russia, Ukraine, Georgia and Turkey.

## Ready for 'Serious Cooperation'

*LD2204105393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0930 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[Text] Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan have met in Ankara, where they arrived to attend the funerals of Turkish President Turgut Ozal. This was the first meeting between the heads of the two countries organized with the help of leaders of other states. The sides are ready for serious cooperation, Ter-Petrosyan stated at a news conference after an one-on-one meeting with President Elchibey, which lasted 25 minutes. We are ready to continue the dialogue within the CSCE framework and I am happy that the sides have achieved mutual understanding. Elchibey pointed out that the presidents will be maintaining a permanent contact to ensure the continuity of the peaceful process.

## Baku-Yerevan 'Hot Line'

*NC2204070893 Paris AFP in English 0316 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[Text] Ankara, April 22 (AFP)—Baku and Yerevan will set up a telephone "hot line" to "pursue the dialogue" opened here Wednesday [21 April] by the Armenian and Azerbaijani presidents on the territorial dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey said.

The announcement, to a press conference late Wednesday, was the sole concrete achievement mentioned by Elchibey after his meeting with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan in the Turkish capital earlier in the day.

It was Elchibey's first comment after the unprecedented 30-minute encounter between the two men, who were attending the state funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal. He said he was "pleased" with the talks, which were organized only hours beforehand.

Ter-Petrosyan, who told journalists immediately after the meeting that he was "very satisfied" with their discussion, later hailed what he called "the beginning of a thaw" in Armenian-Azeri relations.

He said he was "much more optimistic than before" for a peaceful solution to the crisis in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Christian Armenian-majority enclave in Muslim Azerbaijan hit with secessionist fighting since 1988.

"I think these talks (with Elchibey) will bear fruit in the near future. A solid and healthy atmosphere has been created," Ter-Petrosyan said.

He spoke after an hour-and-a-half meeting with Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, who tempered the enthusiasm expressed by the Armenian leader.

Demirel said Ter-Petrosyan did not "commit" himself to respecting any of the conditions demanded by both Ankara and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which has played a mediation role in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

"We explained to the Armenian president the necessity of a ceasefire, an Armenian retreat from the Azerbaijani region of Kelbadzhar, and the search for peace," Demirel said.

The Armenian president "told us he would do everything he could to help end the armed conflict and stop the bloodshed," Demirel added.

Earlier Ter-Petrosyan said he and Elchibey were ready for "serious discussions" on the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, and that they wanted the problem to be solved within the framework of the CSCE—a statement echoed later by Elchibey.

Ter-Petrosyan had also said the two sides had a "common understanding on the resolution of the problem" in the enclave, though he did not elaborate.

The Ankara meetings came as a 48-hour ceasefire, agreed Tuesday between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenian leaders, continued to hold.

Elchibey said there would be no "new meeting in the immediate future" with Ter-Petrosyan, but did not rule out the idea or set any conditions.

The Armenian delegation was to return home Thursday morning, when the Azerbaijani delegation would head to Istanbul for Ozal's burial.

The Azerbaijani president said any settlement over Nagorno- Karabakh must address two separate but related problems: "the cultural and ethnic future" of the enclave and the issue of Azerbaijani territory invaded by Armenian forces.

Azerbaijan has suffered a series of setbacks in the war after Armenia carried out a major offensive early this month to broaden a land corridor between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The offensive drew sharp criticism from the United Nations and raised concern that Azerbaijani allies like Turkey and Iran could become involved in the conflict.

A CSCE exploratory mission arrived in the disputed enclave Wednesday. The experts, led by Finnish Colonel Hekke Hepponen, were due to spend two or three days in the region preparing for the deployment of some 600 observers once a permanent ceasefire is implemented.

### Shevardnadze Meets Snegur, Elchibey

*LD2104161393 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1327 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] [no dateline as received] Yesterday, 20 April, Eduard Shevardnadze, head of state and chairman of the Georgian Parliament, who is in Ankara to attend the funeral ceremony for the President Turgut Ozal, met Moldova President Mircea Snegur. The heads of state examined the issues of cooperation among the countries of the Black Sea basin. Mircea Snegur noted the importance of speeding up the implementation of proposals put forward by E. Shevardnadze at the Istanbul conference last spring. The president of Moldova stated that his country has an unequivocal attitude to the idea of the territorial integrity of Georgia. The leaders of the two countries agreed to develop further mutual cooperation and prepare for a summit meeting.

Also yesterday, there was a meeting and conversation with the Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey, who stated that after the Baku meeting new mutually beneficial relations between the two countries have begun to take shape. "Azerbaijan will be a permanent partner for Georgia," A. Elchibey said. The head of the Georgian state, in his turn, reaffirmed Georgia's intention to develop friendly relations with the neighboring republic.

The leaders of the two countries examined the situation in the Caucasus region, paying special attention to the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

Later, Eduard Shevardnadze met James Baker, former U.S. secretary of state, and invited him to visit Georgia in the near future.

Today the Georgian state delegation will take part in the funeral ceremony for the president of Turkey. After this the head of the Georgian state is planning to have meetings with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, German President Richard von Weizsaecker, and other politicians.

Later today the Georgian delegation returns to Tbilisi.

### Conference on Barents Cooperation Held in Arkhangelsk

*LD2004203693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1750 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will attend an international conference on cooperation in education and scientific research in the Barents region to open in Arkhangelsk tomorrow.

A conference of foreign ministers from six North European states, including the Russian Federation, was held in January, 1993, in Kirkenes, Norway, to create the Council of Barents/Euro-Arctic Region.

The council decided regional cooperation will involve the Russian Arkhangelsk and Murmansk regions, the Finnmark, Troms and Nordland counties in Norway, Lapland in Finland and Norrbotten in Sweden. The Kirkenes meeting participants stressed the importance of expanded regional cooperation in science, technology, education and training of scientists and specialists.

The Arkhangelsk conference will be also attended by the Norwegian foreign minister to hold the first round of negotiations with Kozyrev and continue the talks on April 22 in Moscow. The sides will exchange opinion on the state of the Russian-Norwegian relations, interaction within the framework of the CSCE and the Council of Euro-Arctics Region, and the most topical regional and international issues.

Kozyrev is expected to meet activists of the Sovest organization and tour the Solovestkiye Islands.

### Kozyrev Address

*LD2104163593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1355 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[by ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Anufriyev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk April 21 TASS - "The solution of many problems facing the Russian north, just as all of Russia, depends largely on the extent to which we shall be able to join the international cooperation process. It is high time to open up the Russian north for equitable international contacts, to restore the ancient importance of Arkhangelsk as Russia's northern gate," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told the international conference "The Barents Region: Cooperation in the Field of Education and Scientific Research," which opened here today.

Kozyrev further said that it was high time to "wrest the Russian north once and for all from the clutches of the legacy of Soviet policy" which had turned the region simultaneously into a "besieged fortress" and a zone of concentration camps. "However," he stressed, "this natural desire, meeting common sense, is not shared by everybody in Russia. There are forces which are urging the people to turn back, to be suspicious and hostile to the entire world. This is why the April 25 referendum will decide not only the fate of Russia's domestic reforms, but also the fate of the presidential foreign policy."

Speaking about the current situation in northern Europe, the minister stressed that the concept of security had changed radically after the end of the confrontation era. Nowadays, it is no longer being ensured by military confrontation, but by openness, mutual trust and cooperation. "Today," the minister said, "it is necessary to jointly thwart the new threats, such as the proliferation of mass destruction weapons, international terrorism, drug trafficking, mafiosi-economic crime."

"As to the northern region," Kozyrev stated, "it is necessary to promote by all means the freedom of movement there, simultaneously encouraging cooperation among the administrations of neighbouring regions, frontier and customs authorities, as well as law enforcement bodies."

The Russian minister pointed to the danger of aggressive nationalism in Europe, represented by a new form of xenophobia, ethnic cleansings, encroachements upon the rights of national minorities. This fully refers to such a problem as the lot of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic republics. The minister expressed Russia's firm resolution to "vigorously oppose their discrimination."

In conclusion, Kozyrev outlined the main directions of cooperation, intended to resolve the problems of the Russian north and of all of Russia. They include efforts to find optimal ways and forms of rendering international support to the development of small and medium-size businesses in the region; to comprehensively study problems of ensuring the ecologically safe development of the north's natural resources, including the Barents and White Sea shelves; to draw up cooperation programmes to regear military enterprises in northern Russia to peaceful rails and elaborate a programme to restore and protect the cultural monuments of northern Europe's small nations.

## Norwegian Foreign Minister Speaks

*LD2104163893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1451 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Text] Arkhanglesk April 21 TASS—History and geography turn the Barents region into a channel of cooperation between Russia and Western Europe, according to Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst.

Border cooperation in various fields will help "dissolve" frontiers between the East and the West and create a unified Europe, he said at the international conference on cooperation in the Barents sea region on Wednesday.

The Russian North and northern Norway have been cooperating for over a thousand years, the minister recalled adding that the history of relations between the two countries knew no wars.

The Soviet liberation of the Finnmark Province from German occupation in 1994 became a "bright spot in the gloomy Soviet period of relations", Holst said.

Cooperation in the north of Europe should primarily benefit the local population, according to the minister.

## Joint Armed Forces Command Views Personnel Issues

*LD2204091593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1311 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—Ways of resolving problems relating to the production and allocation of officers graduating from the military colleges and academies in the Commonwealth countries in 1993 and the practical organization of cooperation in the field of training military personnel were considered and agreed at today's meeting of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Command's Committee for Manning Levels and Personnel. The meeting was held at the headquarters of the Main Command of the Commonwealth's Joint Armed Forces in Moscow. Taking part were representatives of personnel bodies in the Defense Ministries of eight of the Commonwealth states, including Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine. The final document on the topics discussed which was passed at the meeting is to be submitted for examination in the Council of Ministers of Defense of the CIS states.

## Armenian, Azerbaijani Envoys Interviewed on Fighting

*LD2104034293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1423 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Interview with Khikmet Gadzhizade, plenipotentiary representative of Azerbaijan, and Feliks Ovannesovich Mamikonyan, permanent representative of Armenia, by correspondent Mikhail Ogorodnikov in Moscow; date not given; from the "Credentials" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ogorodnikov] We now present our regular program "Credentials," but we are beginning it in a rather unusual manner. Today we are not introducing you to another ambassador representing the independent states in Moscow. Rather, we have invited two ambassadors to our studio at once—ambassadors to whom we have already introduced you. They are the esteemed Mr. Khikmet Gadzhizade, plenipotentiary representative of Azerbaijan, and Mr. Feliks Ovannesovich Mamikonyan, permanent representative of Armenia.

I am very glad that you accepted our invitation to take part in such a program because the issue concerns Nagorno-Karabakh, and this is a very sore subject for both your countries, Azerbaijan and Armenia. What is your assessment of the situation in the region at the present time? Let us begin with you, Mr. Gadzhizade.

[Gadzhizade] In my view, the situation is critical regarding the issue surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh, as they say. We are observing a sharp escalation of hostilities, and I can add nothing new to what has already been said. The position of the Azerbaijani side is this. At the very height of successful peace missions—at the height of the talks on Nagorno-Karabakh within the framework of the CSCE—a so-called Armenian Expeditionary Force, the Armenian Armed Forces, went on an offensive both from the territory of Armenia and the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The result of this offensive is plain to see. The population of this rayon, numbering approximately 60,000, found itself surrounded. The majority of the population were evacuated, evacuated by helicopters. The remainder left via snow-covered mountain paths. There is still snow lying high up in the mountains there. Hundreds were frostbitten, and other civilians died in some exchanges of fire. To date, we still do not know the fate of many, many refugees.

We naturally take a very negative view of this escalation. Let me reiterate that this all occurred when our minister of foreign affairs had flown to Geneva for the CSCE peace talks on Nagorno-Karabakh. A representative of the president of Russia is also taking part in these talks.

What else can I say? These talks, perhaps, may not have been proceeding rapidly, not as we have become accustomed to see talks proceed. They were going slowly, but this was qualified and painstaking work. A month ago, with the assistance of the CSCE, the sides signed a so-called mandate of CSCE observers. This was a first major step. This mandate defined the functions of the observers that are to be sent by CSCE states in order to follow the de-escalation of hostilities. Furthermore, it opened up the financing for this group.

The next step was for talks to begin in Geneva on the 25th, specifically about a cease-fire date and a timetable for the withdrawal of troops and the de-escalation of the whole military process. In other words, in this sense, everything was proceeding as planned, conducted by qualified politicians and lawyers in international law of the European Community.

One week before the offensive, Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State Christopher appealed to the sides to cease offensive actions and sit down at the negotiating table. At the time of this appeal, however, the sides were already at talks. The timetable of these talks was this. First, there were talks between the states at the international level. As soon as these matters had been resolved, talks were to have been held between representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan. That was to have happened in Minsk. That was the timetable.

Unfortunately, however, these events upset this whole timetable and, incidentally, not for the first time. This is not the first time that we have seen such an escalation during talks. Azerbaijan's position today is that Armenian armed formations should leave Kelbadzhar, and we must return to the level of confrontation that existed during the talks. Just such a call has been made by the United Nations, namely that Armenian armed formations should leave Kelbadzhar. We are ready for talks, and we were taking part in the process of talks.

[Mamikonyan] I would like to thank your editorial office for the opportunity to be here with esteemed Khikmet-bey. It seems to me that the fact that both our sides have the opportunity to express its point of view will be useful, not only for Russia's viewers who wish to understand this problem, but also for us taking part in the conversation and for the people who may discover something new for themselves or some new approaches.

Of course, we have a somewhat different view of the causes that have led to the present state of affairs. I would like to acquaint you with this point of view. Where we differ from Khikmet-bey is that our view is that it is not Armenia and Azerbaijan that are taking part in this conflict. It is the people of Nagorno-Karabakh and of Azerbaijan.

We think that this is the position of the Azerbaijani side. It is always trying to portray the conflict as one between Armenia and Azerbaijan. By doing so, it is trying, as it were, to have the issue of the self-determination of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh seen within the terms of reference of the Armenian claims to the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. In general, this is how it is very often seen by public opinion, precisely in this way, as in the viewpoint expressed by esteemed Khikmet-bey. I mean—let me repeat again—that we regard this conflict as one between Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenian population and the authorities of Azerbaijan itself.

Well, it was correctly stated here that there are many peace talks and that often these peace talks come to nothing. It is natural that in circumstances such as these, each side endeavors to blame the other, saying that we were ready for peace talks but the other side failed to show patience or understanding. I know that both sides are to be blamed here—Armenians and Azerbaijanis alike. Each specific instance has its own causes, its own logic of actions, and it is necessary to establish in each specific instance why the talks were broken off or why they met with failure.

Well, I can refer to the Kelbadzhar events here, at least in the sense in which we understand you. It has long been known, however, that peace talks between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan are necessary. Armenia is also taking part in these talks because, whether it likes it or not, Armenia is very tied up in this conflict. It is very often the case that combat operations take place not just in Nagorno-Karabakh itself, but also in the border regions along the Armenian-Azerbaijani border.

Khikmet-bey was right when he noted that, in principle, it is possible that these talks progressed very slowly. It is possible that this slow pace was dictated by circumstances, but it was perceived in an altogether different manner in Armenia. Accords were reached as early as September, in principle, to the effect that peace talks ought to start. Hard winter was ahead, and this delay with the talks was perceived in Armenia as a desire to bring Armenia to its knees.

For almost four years, Armenia was under blockade by Azerbaijan. There was this view that they wanted to bring us to our knees. That is to say, we experienced a nightmarish winter. This, of course, applies to Armenia, to the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, and to all the time this procrastination with the talks was perceived as a desire to bring us to our knees. Whether this was objectively the case or not, one cannot deny this logic. One cannot deny that such logic could exist. That is to say, these peace talks were being delayed all the time.

As for the latest signing of the agreement that esteemed Khikmet-bey mentioned—the signing that was due to have taken place in Geneva—the Armenian side was also ready for this. Just as this agreement was due to be signed in Geneva, however, a large-scale offensive against the Lachin corridor got under way. The Azerbaijani troops began to shell the Lachin corridor. An impression emerged. Both sides are often accused by public opinion throughout the world of wanting to have a better position prior to the start of the talks...

[Ogorodnikov, interrupting] A trump card of its own.

[Mamikonyan] Yes, a trump card of its own; in a way, a better military and political situation, so that the talks will be successful from its own point of view. It cannot be ruled out that this scheme was also brought into play on this occasion. However, I do not want to say that it is only Azerbaijan that uses this ploy. It is possible that Armenia—or it will perhaps be more correct to say the Armenian forces in Nagorno-Karabakh—also resort to this ruse. A wide-scale offensive against the Lachin corridor took place, a result of which the Nagorno-Karabakh Self-Defense Forces responded. Also as a result, the routes along which arms were supplied and the bases from which the Lachin corridor was shelled were cut off. These bases were surrounded. The point was that there were approximately 60,000 people there.

In general, information agencies that have links with Nagorno-Karabakh mention other figures. The point is that this region has practically been in the zone of combat operations of Azerbaijan, involving both Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia, for a long time. This Kelbadzhar region is squeezed between the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. Military bases were there, and the territory of Armenia and the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh were shelled from them. Many regions actually found themselves constantly under fire. That is to say, these bases made for a very tense life in the region. The civilian population had, on the whole, fled long before that. There were between 10,000 and 15,000 civilians there.

Well, I know that the Nagorno-Karabakh Self-Defense Forces received the strictest order not to trouble civilians; moreover, some of them are now in Stepanakert, and the possibility is beginning to take shape that they may be transferred to Azerbaijan. The point is that Nagorno-Karabakh has itself long been under blockade and is acutely in need of energy and food alike. Such a large number of people creates additional difficulties for it. In principle, I think that if both sides show they are ready to sit down at the negotiating table and to discuss the problem of these people—we are here talking of civilians, not of Azerbaijani Army servicemen, who are practically prisoners of war—then it is likely that these people can be evacuated.

It is not ruled out that some isolated incidents can occur during the course of such a large operation. Some people might want to escape through the pass, get frostbite, and might not trust Armenians, naturally believing that pogroms will ensue if Armenians are there. Let me say, however, that Armenians have no intention of perpetrating acts of physical violence against the Azerbaijani population.

[Ogorodnikov] You are diplomats, and you must represent to your governments your thoughts, your plans, for some way out of this impasse. Do you have such plans? What steps could you, for example, propose at present in order to get the talks moving again? The conflict that has dragged on for so long—we have already agreed on this—cannot be solved by military means, but only by political means, by talks. What steps could you propose at present?

[Gadzhizade] Diplomats always speak about a political solution, while the military always draw up their own plans.

[Ogorodnikov] The military aim is always to achieve victory by military means, but for the diplomat and politician it is the art of the possible.

[Gadzhizade] We can see from the result of this, however, the result of the course of the diplomats and of the military of one side. Yes, I always call for talks, but the Armenian Armed Forces go over onto the attack all the time during the talks. Therefore, during the Tehran talks, Shusha was taken. During the previous Geneva talks, villages were seized in Zangelan Rayon, and during the present Geneva talks, Kelbadzhar was seized.

Of course, one could say that these settlements or rayons are being taken to remove the danger of shelling, and so on and so forth. The point is that there is a certain level of confrontation—let us say exchanges of shelling, for example. These have always existed and always continue. This is a particular level at which it is easy to conduct talks.

At the present time, the position of Azerbaijan is such that we cannot conduct talks in this sense while Armenian Armed Forces are in Kelbadzhar Rayon. Otherwise, these will be talks from a position of strength for the Armenians and from a position of weakness for the Azerbaijanis. That is, it could be said that the Armenians forced the Azerbaijanis to begin talks more quickly by seizing Kelbadzhar. This is a very bad practice, a bad precedent. No state—not ours, in any event—will agree to this.

And, you will not ensure peace by such seizures. You will not put an end to shellings, or bombings, or blockades by such seizures. These seizures have produced nothing except bitterness, nothing except the upsurge of sentiment that nothing will be resolved by peaceful means. It has not brought the desired dividends to those who planned this operation. Peace has not been brought closer. That is the main negative result.

[Ogorodnikov] What you are saying, esteemed Khikmet, is that, at present, Azerbaijan does not think it possible to resume the talks?

[Gadzhizade] Yes, that is what I believe, and that is what our president and our government believe.

[Ogorodnikov] But that is a continuation of the impasse.

[Gadzhizade] But it is not we who drove things into the impasse. We are being driven into this impasse all the time. It is necessary to return to the state that existed at the Geneva talks. The Armenian troops should quit Karabakh and return to where they were. This is also demanded by the world community. The talks were proceeding successfully.

I have already mentioned that one document was signed. A point at which the cease-fire should take effect, a schedule for the disengagement of troops, the talks with Armenia in Minsk, and the talks with Nagorno-Karabakh should have been worked out in Geneva. It is in vain that many claim in various ways that Azerbaijan has no wish to have a dialogue going with Nagorno-Karabakh. Everything was planned.

[Mamikonyan] I agree with the view of Khikmet-bey, with what he says to the effect that very often an impression is created that the other side is being forced to carry on the negotiating process with a gun at its head; that is to say that a pistgun ol is put to its head and that it is forced to negotiate. It is difficult, of course. The Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh have a somewhat different point of view with regard to where this pistol is being held and exactly whose temple is in its sights.

Let me recall—it was 1991, the spring of 1991. President Ter-Petrosyan was, at that time, saying to Mikhail Gorbachev, the president of the Soviet Union, that a balance has, more or less, been established now in Nagorno-Karabakh. Mikhail Sergeyevich, be a guarantor of these talks. Let us start talks between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh. Let us resolve this issue.

The whole affair ended with the May events. In the course of the Koltso operation, a large number of Karabakh people were deported from Karabakh under what, in practical terms, was a far-fetched pretext of checking people's passports. This was violence against peaceful people. Under the pretext of passport regulations, even children were taken out of Nagorno-Karabakh, even though passport regulations there do not affect children.

Winter, 1992—again a balance of sorts, and again Armenia suggested to Azerbaijan to sit down at the negotiating table to discuss Nagorno-Karabakh. At that time, Azerbaijan altogether ignored Nagorno-Karabakh as a force in the negotiations. They said they could not negotiate with them; they rejected this path. I want to recall that Azerbaijan was the first to use heavy artillery. Azerbaijan was the first to use planes. Moreover, you will recall that a 500 kg bomb fell on Stepanakert, claiming the lives of many civilians. That is to say, many in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh are of the view that this is always a measure of forced defense.

I want to draw attention to the following circumstances. There is no point in the forces of Nagorno-Karabakh themselves carrying out combat operations. Naturally, they cannot effect a seizure of the Azerbaijani territory. Their whole point is self-defense, and this self-defense has certain laws. If their lives are in jeopardy, it is difficult to reproach these people and ask them why they undertake [word indistinct] actions. As soon as Azerbaijan ceases its offensive operations against Nagorno-Karabakh, I think that Nagorno-Karabakh will sit at the negotiating table.

I wish to stress this with all the emphasis at my disposal. As soon as such a wish to sit down at the negotiating table with Nagorno-Karabakh emerges—as soon as it is recognized that there are people in Nagorno-Karabakh who, on behalf of the population, are ready to conduct talks—it is necessary to sit down at the negotiating table with them, to stop any military pressure on Nagorno-Karabakh. Both in Armenia and in Nagorno-Karabakh, people are unable to rid themselves to this very day of the thought that Azerbaijan wishes to resolve this problem militarily; that is to say that the only solution to this problem is to squeeze the entire Armenian population out. Whether Armenians are right is another matter, but the external backdrop of events pushes Armenians unequivocally in one direction. This is possibly due to some kind of mutual lack of trust.

Well, I can see that Khikmet-bey also distrusts Armenia's actions, while Armenia distrusts the actions of Azerbaijanis. Let our position be understood; let us stop the firing. Let us sit down at the negotiating table. Let us put a halt to offensive operations. Let us withdraw our heavy arms to a distance of between 50 and 100 km, and let us sit down at the negotiating table. Let these talks be difficult, but that is the only way.

What can Nagorno-Karabakh do against Azerbaijan [words indistinct] Armenia. Let us note the geographical and strategic aspects of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Armenia is, of course, under a blockade. Side by side, there are countries that—it must be said—are not overly sympathetic to Armenia. The economic conditions are also difficult. Do you really think that, under these conditions, the Armenian leadership is capable of setting itself some sort of goals or that it could nurture an idea of inflicting some sort of substantial casualties on Azerbaijan?

[Ogorodnikov] Now, the final question. What role do you see for Russia in this process? Please, go ahead Mr. Gadzhizade.

[Gadzhizade] The role of Russia could, of course, be very significant, especially in the light of the latest initiative by Russia's President Yeltsin. Even prior to this, Russia has not avoided mediating in this matter. It is participating as one of the sides in the Minsk CSCE group. Russian Ambassador Vladimir Nikolayevich Kazimirov is participating very actively.

Now, since the Kelbadzhar events, our president has received a letter from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin offering his services as a direct mediator. This letter received a positive reply from our president, who responded with gratitude to this initiative. The desire was also expressed that this initiative should be more effective than the old usual initiatives. What is meant here is guarantees. In other words, we ask each mediator to bear in mind that, when inviting the sides to talks, he should, all in all, condemn those who conduct combat operations or who violate accords during the talks process.

Unfortunately, international organizations do not want to offer such guarantees, or they are unable to, or it is not their practice or experience to do so. They say: We can only provide you with a room and a table. Sit down and agree among yourselves. We are not managing to do this, however. The sides need the kind of mediator who, apart from being a mediator, can also condemn those who violate these agreements.

[Ogorodnikov] And what is your point of view?

[Mamikonyan] We also assess highly Russia's position on this issue. Let me say that there is a prejudicial view that Russia supports the side of the Armenians. Let me say that I think this is rather something unconscious in the Russian public consciousness than an actual political practice. For one thing, you will remember the summer offensive of 1992, when Russia unilaterally transferred an enormous mass of weapons to Azerbaijan that allowed the latter to carry out a broad offensive in the north of Nagorno-Karabakh. The north of Nagorno-Karabakh remains virtually, to this day, under the control of Azerbaijani forces. In other words, it is not the case that Russia unequivocally supports the Armenians. Of course, Russia is maintaining more or less strict neutrality on this issue.

Regarding the question of whether Russia alone can be the guarantor of a peace settlement of this matter, it seems to me that it can. Azerbaijan also has its standpoint here, however; namely, that Azerbaijan is steering itself unequivocally toward Turkey. The impression is being created that this issue cannot be resolved without the dual mediation of Russia and Turkey because—as one can surmise very often from statements by officials—the mediation of Russia alone does not suit Azerbaijan and some guarantees are also needed from Turkey. It seems to me that there has not yet been any serious mediation—and I think that Khikmet [word indistinct] will agree with this—we have not yet seen any serious mediation. I, at least, have not seen it.

[Gadzhizade] Allow me to return to the question. Azerbaijan is not unequivocally steering itself toward Turkey or toward any other country. Azerbaijan is pursuing a neutral policy. At the very start of my section, so to speak, I said that our president has received Boris Nikolayevich's proposal with gratitude and that the mediation of Russia is accepted. No. Any mediator who approaches this matter seriously will suit us. We want to pursue a neutral policy. We do not wish to join any blocs whatsoever. We want to turn our face to the whole world. Neither Turkey, nor Russia, nor the United States can be a new big brother for us. Perhaps this is where our misfortune lies.

[Ogorodnikov] Well, let me thank you for participating in our program. I will hope that it is, all in all, the duty of politicians to look not so much to the past and to seek offense and mutual accusations—for many of these can always been found and on both sides—but rather to look to the future in order that we bring benefit to our peoples. Perhaps this meeting of ours will serve as some kind of first step on neutral territory here in Moscow on the long and difficult path toward peace in the region: in Azerbaijan, in Armenia, and in Nagorno-Karabakh. Thank you once again for joining the program.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 22 Apr

*LD2204055993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0545 GMT 22 Apr 93*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—The forthcoming all-Russian referendum is in the focus of attention of today's newspapers.

In the opinion of Sergey Stankevich, adviser to the Russian president, "the referendum is needed for paving the way to a new stage of democratic transformations in Russia", ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI writes. Stankevich points out in his article that the most important thing we must not permit is the turn backwards. "Any attempt to bring us back to a command-based economy, fixed prices and total state distribution would become a catastrophe for Russia," he writes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that "the Russian Armed Forces do not support any of the political parties. They keep away from politics and fulfil their main mission—getting prepared for repulsing an aggression from the outside". The newspaper frontpages these words by Defence Minister General Pavel Grachev, who made this statement during his current tour of Far Eastern and Siberian garrisons.

TRUD carries an article by Mikhail Ulyanov, a popular actor and public figure, under the heading "On the Eve of the Referendum". "If we want to advance towards a just and humane mode of living, we should give Yeltsin a vote of confidence. If he wins, we shall make another step on the way to a law-based state, to the omnipotence of law," he writes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA highlights a fragment from an interview, given by Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze to the Mayak radio broadcasting station, in which he said: "If Russia wants to move forward along the path of democratic development, it should unanimously support President Yeltsin's programme. The newspaper also quotes Chairman of Russian Parliament Khasbulatov as saying that he does not want the referendum because, in his opinion, "It would be more honest to hold pre-term general elections right now."

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA cites the results of a public opinion poll held in the Kemerovo region. Using those results, the newspaper comes to the conclusion that most of the electors do not intend to take part in the referendum. Thus, according to the newspaper, only 24 per cent of the polled voiced the desire to take part in the voting. 48 per cent of them said that they would not give a vote of confidence to President Yeltsin, 57 per cent do not approve of the socio-economic policy pursued in the country, 42 per cent favour pre-term elections of the president and 53 per cent—pre-term parliamentary elections.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes, after analysing 20,000 letters the editorial board received over the past 20 days, that the results of the referendum will not be in favour of President Yeltsin. The newspaper carries an article by the writes Yuriy Vlasov, who comes out for "a reasonable and healthy economic policy" which, in his opinion, is the only lever capable of helping the country out of the quagmire, into which it is plunging. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA and PRAVDA publish articles dealing with the 123rd birth anniversary of Lenin.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI writes about a possibility of the convocation of another extraordinary congress by Khasbulatov immediately after the referendum. The newspaper is confident that "the congress will take preventive measures to offset all possible legislative initiatives of the president, connected with the preparation of pre-term elections and the adoption of a new constitution."

## Kozyrev Holds Talks With Norwegian Counterpart

### Meeting in Arkhangelsk

*LD2104180193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Report from Arkhangelsk by correspondent Aleksey Shiryayev; the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Arkhangelsk today. The capital of the Russian north was the venue for a meeting between Andrey Vladimirovich and his Norwegian counterpart Johan Jorgen Holst. The heads of the foreign political departments of the two neighboring states took part today in an international conference on the Barents region, which brought together scientists, ecologists, politicians, and journalists to discuss the prospects for cooperation between the northern regions of the two states in the fields of education and scientific research.

In their speeches the ministers highly appraised the rebirth of cultural and business ties between Arkhangelsk Oblast and Norway's northern provinces.

A brief tete-a-tete meeting took place today between Kozyrev and Holst. After its completion, Andrey Vladimirovich gave a news conference for journalists at which he noted full mutual understanding with his Norwegian colleague. In his talks with Kozyrev, Johan Jorgen Holst supported the course of reforms which are being implemented by President Yeltsin and the Russian Government, and expressed the hope that the Russian people will make the right choice at the referendum on 25 April.

Andrey Kozyrev also visited the Solovetskiy monastery today, and then left for Moscow. He will continue his talks with Juhan Jorgen Holst there tomorrow.

### Comments on Way to Moscow

*LD2104213393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2104 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shemlyov]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev returned to Moscow on Wednesday [21 April] night upon completion of his visit to the city of Arkhangelsk, where he took part in a scientific conference "The Barents Sea Region: Cooperation in the Sphere of Education and Scientific Research."

In the framework of the conference Kozyrev met with his Norwegian colleague Johan Jorgen Holst. The two ministers discussed problems of bilateral Russo-Norwegian relations and important regional and international problems. The talks between the Russian and Norwegian ministers will be continued in Moscow on Thursday.

In reply to a question asked by ITAR-TASS on board a plane, the Russian foreign minister said that the problem of corruption of state governing bodies is extremely serious. The Russian Foreign Ministry is "the least affected" by corruption since there are less grounds in the Foreign Ministry for taking bribes and dishonest activities. "Corruption is taking place among those who distribute material values, while in the Russian Foreign Ministry they are rather limited," Kozyrev said.

He pointed out that in the system of state governing bodies there exists a problem of information leakage. It is possible that the same is taking place in the system of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Kozyrev said. In Kozyrev's opinion, the problem here lies in "the general culture" of the ministry's staff. As far as top-secret data are concerned, the ministry possesses no information on this account, Kozyrev said.

Commenting on Russia' position on Yugoslav settlement, the minister pointed out that the position of Moscow is to take all possible measures to urge Bosnian Serbs to accept the Owen-Vance plan of settlement in this or that form. However, Kozyrev said that at present, he did not see "any convincing decisions" suggested by any countries for the settlement of the conflict. At present, such variants are being discussed as making bomb attacks on Serbia, tightening an embargo on arms supplies to Bosnia, but all these measures mean a completely new level of the escalation of the conflict, Kozyrev said.

In his opinion, holding early elections will be the worst result of the 25 April referendum in Russia. In any case, the president should remain in his post until new elections are held," [quotation marks as received] Kozyrev added.

## Commentary Previews Joint Exercise With U.S.

*LD2104224693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Excerpts] The Russian and United States Air Forces are completing preparations for the first joint drill in Siberia. Commentary is by Vladislav Kozyakov:

Russian and United States planes and helicopters will take part in a two-day game designed as a rescue operation. The aircraft will be practicing on a small island 370 km away from the Dixie base in the Arctic. Rescue teams will be dropped to prepare the victims of a simulated plane crash for evacuation.

The Russian and United States Air Forces will be expected to exchange experience in the strenuous conditions of the Arctic. The Americans hope to learn how the Russians manage to fly missions and service their aircraft in freezing weather conditions. The Russians in turn will be interested to learn how the Americans refuel their planes in the air. United States pilots will show them in-flight refuelling procedures. [passage omitted]

Civilian and commercial set-ups in both countries can expect to profit from the joint air game in Siberia. A new air route may come to link Eurasia with the Americas via the North Pole. Expanding bilateral partnership calls for more cooperation in the military field. Next month or possibly in June Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev will be expected to visit Washington.

### Nationalists Label Start II 'Unacceptable,' 'Ruinous'

*PM2104152593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 2*

[Petr Belov report from the "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" column: "START II Discussion"]

[Text] A press conference on the military-economic aspects of the upcoming cuts in strategic offensive arms organized by the Union for the Revival of Russia [URR] and the "Fatherland" parliamentary faction has been held at the Russian Federation parliamentary center.

Opening the press conference, G. Venov, coordinator of "Fatherland" and people's deputy of the Russian Federation, and D. Rogozin, cochairman of the URR, described START II as a treaty which is unacceptable to Russia in military-political terms and ruinous economically. During the discussion that developed the opinion was expressed that the implementation of START II would completely disarm Russia and well and truly destroy its economy.

### Spokesman Denies Troops Opened Fire in Georgia

*LD2004133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1227 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow - "Referring to the information of competent military bodies, we think it necessary to say neither Russian serviceman used arms from April 10 through 20 in the Georgian- Abkhazian conflict zone. Fire was not open from territory of the Esheri seismic laboratory," head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Directorate Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

The official commented on a statement of the Georgian government made in connection with bombing of Sukhumi, which was allegedly done from the site of location of the Russian military laboratory near the Esheri settlement.

Aviation, temporary stationed in Abkhazia after April 9 - the date of the Sochi agreements - did not take off at all, said the spokesman.

"The striving of certain Georgian quarters to discredit with their irresponsible pronouncements positive changes that shaped up as result of Sochi negotiations between Russian and Georgian governmental delegations, provokes bewilderment," stressed Sergey Yastrzhembskiy.

Being a mediator, the Russian side has passed over a negotiations protocol to the Abkhazian leadership in Sochi, he noted. A meeting with the leadership representatives will soon be held to discuss ceasefire and resumption of the tripartite negotiations process.

### Russian, Georgian Deputies Confer on Cooperation

*PM2104142993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 1*

[Anatoliy Stasovskiy report: "Russia's Parliamentarians Ask Aleksandr Sitnikov's Release From Jail"]

[Text] There has been an unofficial meeting of Russian and Georgian parliamentarians at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Defense and Security Committee with the participation of B. Pastukhov, Russian Federation deputy foreign minister, and V. Adavadze, Georgian ambassador to Russia.

It was agreed that the two countries' parliamentarians should actively seek opportunities for cooperation and provide legislative solutions to problems that arise. It was pointed out at the meeting that the Georgian parliament's decision to release Russian Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Sitnikov from jail could be a significant step in this direction.

### Airlift of Personnel, Hardware From Transcaucasia

*PM2104140993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 1*

[Report by Viktor Beltsov of the Russian Federation Air Forces Press Center: "Russia-Transcaucasus Airlift in Operation"]

[Text] Russian Federation Air Force transport pilots have begun a large-scale operation to bring Russian servicemen and their family members as well as various military freight and combat hardware out of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus.

Heavy An-124 "Ruslan" and Il-76 transporters have been used for this. Roughly 70 trips have been made since the start of the operation during which 304 servicemen, more than 230 family members, and 299 pieces of combat hardware have been airlifted to Russia.

### Yeltsin Decree on Foreign Nuclear Plants' Construction

*LD2104165993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] President Yeltsin today signed a decree on the fulfillment by the Russian Federation of intergovernmental agreements on cooperation in constructing nuclear power stations abroad. According to the document, the relevant departments have been instructed to submit within two months to the Russian Cabinet of Ministers drafts of joint agreements in this sphere with Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Lithuania, which must include the sides' obligations on handling spent nuclear fuel. The decree establishes that 25 percent of the hard currency funds received for processing spent nuclear fuel are channelled into implementing programs for radiation control, ecological improvement, and the economic development of the regions where processing enterprises are situated.

### Finland's Sorsa Makes 'Territorial Claims'

*PM2104113893 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 3*

[Marat Zubko report: "K. Sorsa Proposes Russia Return Islands"]

[Excerpts] Helsinki—Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen has announced at a Helsinki press conference that he will be leaving his post and the government in mid-May to take part in preparations for the 1994 presidential election. [passage omitted]

Another event in the unfolding election campaign was the sudden demarche by 63-year-old former Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa, who intends to run on behalf of the Social Democratic Party.

Clearly hoping to boost his popularity with the ordinary voter, K. Sorsa has made territorial claims against Russia—he has demanded that Finland have returned to it the three islands in the east of the Gulf of Finland which became part of the USSR under the 1944 truce agreement and the 1947 Paris peace treaty.

K. Sorsa stated that the islands have no economic or military role for Russia (which actually is not true—ownership of the islands determines the borderline of territorial waters in the Gulf of Finland. The line is currently closer to the Finnish coast, but under K. Sorsa's plan would be closer to the Russian coast. Not to mention the fact that this border revision would contravene the CSCE principles which K. Sorsa—as premier at the time the Helsinki Act was adopted—actively supported).

The reaction in Finland to this demarche was mixed, but the former premier clearly failed to get the support he was hoping for. The newspaper VASTRA NYLAND, for instance, commented: "The question of the border between Finland and an undoubtedly weakened but still great power—Russia—should be left out of the political debate in our country."

### Russian-Chinese Agrarian Conference Held in Novosibirsk

*LD2004092693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0702 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Elmakov]

[Text] Novosibirsk April 20—A Russo-Chinese conference on the development of research in agrarian science under market conditions opened today in Novosibirsk. The conference will try to apply Chinese experience in land reform to Siberia. Other topics to be discussed at the conference include attracting money to research in market conditions, making research more attentive to farmers' needs, and problems of plant-growing and livestock-raising.

The Novosibirsk Agrarian University and the Agricultural University in the Chinese city Shenyang organized the meeting. The two universities have signed an agreement to cooperate in scientific and scholarly work, and they plan to exchange professors.

## Political Issues

### Supreme Soviet Report Warns of Presidential Rule

### President's Office Rejects Charges

*LD2204104393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1036 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[Text] Moscow April 22 ITAR-TASS—The press service of the president of the Russian Federation released a statement on Thursday [22 April] which blasts the press service of the Supreme Soviet (standing legislature) of the Russian Federation for alleged fabrication of papers revealing President Yeltsin's alleged plan of action for April 25-26.

The presidential press service said that on April 22, staffers of the parliament's press service released to journalists a falsified anonymous document concocted with reference to sources close to the leadership of the State Security Ministry.

The document, prepared in accordance with the rules of large-scale misinformation ploy, presents an alleged plan of actions of the president to be implemented, according to the paper, on the night from April 25 to April 26.

The presidential press service described the ploy as another act of political provocation designed to influence voters on the eve of the national referendum on who runs Russia—the president or the parliament.

### Press Service Issues Statement

*LD2204124893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1127 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr—Today Konstantin Zlobin, press secretary of the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, circulated among journalists a text which has not been signed. With reference to circles close to the leadership of the Russian Federation Security Ministry, it claims that Boris Yeltsin "plans to introduce de facto presidential rule on the territory of Russia" on the night of 25-26 April. This press release also claims that executive bodies in the center and provinces will undertake the functions of summing up the results of the referendum and that "necessary measures have been elaborated to juggle the referendum results in a way suitable to the president."

The Russian president's press service refuted this statement and circulated the following report:

"Today, 22 April, staff of the press service of the Russian Supreme Soviet circulated among journalists a crude falsehood in the form of an anonymous document prepared with reference to some information from circles close to the leadership of the Security Ministry. This 'document', drawn up in accordance with all the rules of large-scale disinformation, outlines some kind of 'plan of action' of the president, the implementation of which, the authors of this falsehood say, will start on the night of 25-26 April. This is the latest political provocation aimed at exerting pressure on electors on the eve of the referendum."

### Security Ministry Rejects Report

*LD2204134693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr (CRIME-PRESS-TASS)—The allegations, citing anonymous representatives of the Russian Federation Security Ministry, that there are plans to impose presidential rule throughout Russia on the night of 25-26 April are a fabrication. This is noted in an official statement released by the Russian Security Ministry today.

"Though not considering it necessary to refute this fabrication, the Security Ministry and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and Security regard this provocation as a continuation of the ongoing attempts to involve the [security] forces in political confrontation and, thereby, to exacerbate the power crisis in Russia," the statement, signed by First Deputy Security Minister Nikolay Golushko, stresses.

### Kostikov Rejects 'Political Provocations'

*LD2204145593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1358 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Talalayev and Alfred Artamonov]

[Text] Izhevsk, 22 Apr—Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary for the Russian president, today denounced this morning's statement by the Supreme Soviet's press service that the president was planning to impose de facto presidential rule on the night of 25 April and to falsify the referendum results, describing it as a continuation of the campaign of lies and slander.

In this connection Vyacheslav Kostikov referred to rumors which have been put about over the last few days, namely that Boris Yeltsin is building himself "numerous luxurious dachas in various parts of the country".

According to the press secretary, Aleksandr Rutskoy's Supreme Soviet speech, the rumors about presidential dachas, and the statement about his intention to falsify the referendum results are all "links in a single chain of political provocations."

### Ostankino Offers Rutskoy, Others Time on Live Program

*LD2204132693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Now for some official reports. The Ostankino TV company has issued an official statement and here is what it says. I will read it in full:

Through mass media channels, the Ostankino management has learned of a demand made by Russian Federation Vice President Rutskoy for live airtime on the eve of the referendum. Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov has also asked the TV company's management to grant Vice President Rutskoy airtime. In discussions with Rutskoy, Bragin, chairman of the Ostankino TV and radio company, officially asked the vice president to take part in the "Vzglyad" political program, which will go out live during prime time on 23 April. The program will start at 2135 [1735 GMT]. Khasbulatov, Zorkin, Shumeyko, Chubays, and other public figures who hold various political positions have been invited to speak in a special edition of this program.

We hope, the statement says, that Vice President Rutskoy will take seriously this invitation to participate in a live program which is highly valued by viewers and that he will not refuse to set out his arguments in AN open and honest debate.

That was an official statement from the Ostankino TV company.

## Rutskoy Refuses; Wants To Address Nation

*LD2204135793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1314 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy refused to participate in a live tv debate on the eve of the nationwide referendum and demanded air time for an address to the nation, according to a statement of the "Ostankino" TV company on Thursday [22 April].

Rutskoy told the tv network that he wants to address the people in a live broadcast in order to cite various facts of corruption in top echelons of state power.

However, chairman of the TV company Vyacheslav Bragin proposed to Rutskoy to join a live tv debate in which parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko, chief constitutional justice Valeriy Zorkin, privatisation supremo Anatoliy Chubays were invited to participate. The debate is to be broadcast in the best air time on Friday evening.

Bragin said that his tv company hopes that the vice-president will agree to participate in an open and honest discussion among state leaders with various politcal views.

Instead, Rutskoy accused mass media of a propaganda campaign aimed "to make the population vote for further plunder of the country", according to the statement. He also said that the best air time and the first pages of newspapers are given to those people who he accused of corruption during his latest speech in parliament.

A week ago all announced tv programmes were cancelled because of a live broadcast of Rutskoy's speech in parliament which was then repeated in the evening. On Wednesday Rutskoy admitted that the speech was a retaliation to a statement of Boris Yeltsin that he would ask the vice-president to resign.

Rutskoy's accusations were publicly denied by former Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, privatisation supremo Anatoliy Chubays and First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko. President Boris Yeltsin doubted that the accusations contain a lot of criminal actions, but ordered to investigate them.

## Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Current Issues

*LD2104200893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1730 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Report by unidentified announcers on meeting between President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in Yeltsin's study in the Kremlin, with recordings of their remarks; date not given; from the "The Kremlin—a working meeting" program]

[Text] [First announcer] In our time, when political events inflame the situation in the country to the limit and when it is only the militia that keeps the participants in the rallies, representing various parties, from a direct clash, normal work is underway behind the Kremlin walls. It is here that questions which, in the final analysis, affect all of us, are tackled: the economy, Russia's borders, the republic's participation within the CIS, social welfare benefits financed by the state, and even problems of right-hand drive motor vehicles. All this, and much else besides, was discussed at a routine meeting between the Russian president and the prime minister of the Russian government.

[Second announcer] The all-Russian State Television and Radio Company was the first to have been given the opportunity of conducting a report from the Russian president's working study.

[First announcer] Naturally, the question of the Minsk meeting was the first. The president told Viktor Chernomyrdin about the progress of the summit conference.

[Yeltsin] I think I should say that this time we decided to make the sitting an extraordinary one, as it were, with just one question in mind: the future of the CIS. This is taking account of the fact that there began to emerge in the press and elsewhere various views to the effect that the CIS is almost on its death-bed or else that it has already expired, or, I mean, we will hear no more from it; and so we decided to invite absolutely all leaders and to say: Let us do it this way, if you want, let us cooperate, if not, let us cooperate without two or three states. However, it has to be said that everyone was very vigorously for it.

The second question has to do with deeper integration; that is to say, that some sort of coordinating bodies should be set up and so on, with controlling functions. Ukraine was against, Kravchuk. Belarus is for, save for military issues. Well, Turkmenia is against, while the others are in favor, in principle.

So the following decision was made: To avoid splits now between states, those who are in favor of a deeper integration and the setting up of certain institutions should instruct the governments accordingly and prepare a special meeting of these states precisely late in May.

[First announcer] It was noted that the transparency of borders within the CIS is possible only if there are strong borders on the Commonwealth's perimeter, and this is clear. At the same time, Russia should have reliable protection in those areas where hostilities are under way.

[Yeltsin] Regarding borders, everybody was strongly in favor of establishing them along the outer perimeter, but not within [the CIS].

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, Boris Nikolayevich, it is one of Russia's main issues today, too. It is important for us, too.

[Yeltsin] It includes the customs, tariffs and... [pauses] all in all, it is difficult for them, but it is not easy for us, either. We agreed that we would follow this line but where there are hostilities, say, in Abkhazia, we should naturally observe not that external border but this one, to ensure that our Russian people do not suffer. This is, perhaps, all. We agreed that the governments of the states favoring deeper integration should get together at a working level and prepare relevant documents in May, and then a meeting could be held.

[First announcer] The interests of Russia demand that its relations with the CIS countries are built and based on normal economic foundations.

[Chernomyrdin] We are at present trying to develop our relations on a new basis, an economic basis, to be precise. Very recently all premiers gathered together in Surgut to tackle the issue of the oil industry.

[Yeltsin] An agreement has been signed.

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, literally everyone signed, including [words indistinct].

[Yeltsin] It is a good agreement.

[Chernomyrdin] An identical conference took place very recently, some two weeks ago. All agrarians came to Kazakhstan, to Akmola.

[Yeltsin] That is to say they are held industry by industry, sector by sector, is that not the case?

[Chernomyrdin] Sector by sector, yes.

[Yeltsin] Defense people will have a meeting.

[Chernomyrdin] Boris Nikolayevich, the point is to develop as a single economic chain. At present we have agreed with many heads of governments that we should facilitate this, support our enterprises, share-holding companies, joint enterprises and I think that these current processes will go faster on this new basis. It is very important for us.

[Yeltsin] [word indistinct] credits are given and, unfortunately, produce no return.

[Chernomyrdin] They come to us, too.

[First announcer] The country is on the eve of the referendum and this could not but be reflected during the conversation. In the first place it was decided to postpone the expanded sitting of the government to 29 April and to invite heads of republics within Russia to attend. In the second place Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin noted the readiness to hold the national referendum. The premier then described his trips round Russia.

[Chermomyrdin] This was linked in the first instance with seeing how the spring field work was progressing so as to be able to do something in good time. Now these processes are beginning throughout Russia.

Well, the main things. Well, in the first place, we visited enterprises including collective and state farms. We had meetings with private farmers. We held meetings with people and with leaders, beginning with the rayon level, and leaders of our enterprises.

[Yeltsin] Did you have meetings with the Cossacks?

[Chermomyrdin] With the Cossacks only at the level of the kray horde. We were present at their final conference. Well, what questions were there? Well, in the first place, I must say that in Krasnodar Kray and in Stavropol, spring field work and sowing is under way. In both places, I would say that it is going quite well, to say the least.

[Yeltsin] Do they have stocks of everything, fuel and so on?

[Chermomyrdin] Well, the decision was made on your instructions to ensure, in the first place, finance and then fuel and fertilizers. You know that the government made the decision to reduce the price of fertilizers by 30 percent specially for the spring field work and to reduce the price of fuel. And we changed the prices for rural dwellers.

Well, at the same time, there are of course certain difficulties. The greatest difficulty is that the credits—even the credits which you may recall we envisaged starting from January—they have in essence not all got through to those doing the work.

[Yeltsin] The January ones?

[Chermomyrdin] Even the January ones, Boris Nikolayevich. This is rather worrying. Specialists went there before my trip. I was accompanied by officials of the financial services, of the banking services.

[Yeltsin] What is the problem?

[Chermomyrdin] It is one and the same problem, Boris Nikolayevich. The mechanism which we have created, starting from the Central Bank but also the commercial banks and the RKTs [Clearing and Cash Transaction Centers] system. It is well known that the same thing is happening in the localities. It is very complicated to get things through, of course, very complicated.

Therefore, I could say to you once again and report today that the government of Russia has in essence allocated everything in addition for the workers in agriculture for spring field work despite all our difficulties, primarily so that we should not lose time, not miss the opportunity. But today unfortunately we have this shortcoming. We have now reached agreement with the Central Bank once again, and leaders of administrations, leaders of rayons have reached agreement with banks in the localities to eliminate these problems in a more specific, simple, and specific manner.

[First announcer] The issue of distribution of forces within power structures was not forgotten, either.

[Yeltsin] You have made a trip with Aleksandr Kharlampiyevich Zaveryukha, new deputy chairman of government. I have not travelled with him anywhere, but you have, right?

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, only he left earlier with a large brigade and covered more rayons.

[Yeltsin] Could you describe him in a few words?

[Chernomyrdin] Well, he is only starting to work. The only thing I can say, my first impression, since I am always working with him here—we have set things going regarding organizational matters. I think that there will be more assistance for the Agricultural Ministry and specialists, there will be contacts, coordination of work between many departments which deal with agricultural problems. I feel a great relief now because we had to look into those issues anyway. But the main thing is that during the trips that have taken place I spoke with specialists, heads of administration, leaders, and chairmen of oblast soviets who were involved, and I can say that they have accepted him.

[Yeltsin] Well, this is the main thing.

[Chernomyrdin] He speaks the same language as they do. When I used to leave, he would always stay behind. I think that he has had a long career. He started as machine operator...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Yes, I know.

[Chernomyrdin] He is a scientist, he is candidate of sciences.

[Yeltsin] Yes I know, I met him when he was being appointed.

[Chernomyrdin] So in my view, Boris Nikolayevich, he is young...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] All right. I have touched upon this because I wonder whether we are creating a kind of parallel presidential and government structure dealing with agriculture. Before the deputy chairman was appointed, Rutskoy was put in charge of agriculture. And now the chairman of the government, himself, is concerned with this, especially with agriculture, so what need is there for the vice president to engage in rural matters?

[First announcer] In the far east, in Siberia, and in many towns in other regions whole collectives are raising the question of the government decision on right-hand drive cars. The president also raised this question with the prime minister.

[Yeltsin] What are your proposals?

[Chernomyrdin] On your instructions we put in some more work on this question. The question was raised on the initiative of the Interior Ministry in February when this government decision was issued, because of the high accident level on this type of transport. But, perhaps you are right and it may be because there are so many of these cars. But in the long term, if the process continues and we do not intervene in this process then it will become irreversible and the roads and everything—in principle if there are more than over 50 percent of them, then it would be better to go over to right-hand drive [words indistinct as both speak simultaneously].

Boris Nikolayevich, unfortunately, well, not unfortunately, in principle Europe has rejected it and only Britain retains it. There are countries which have right-hand drive cars, well, Japan naturally which produces these cars, but in the world this system is going out, dying out. Everyone is going over to the normal, classical system. We are in such a position because the far east offers close at hand the opportunity to buy cheap cars.

[Yeltsin] Of course. They have bought a lot of them.

[Chernomyrdin] Well, what have we been doing? We have had several meetings with the leaders of these regions in the Far East: Kuznetsov in Vladivostok, Kamchatka, Sakhalin, Khabarovsk kray. We tried once again to find a way out in order to reduce the tension. We are unable to provide as many cars as are needed. What have we now proposed? We have instructed another document to be prepared. Some changes have now been made to the decision. In the first place, those cars which have already been bought can have their period of use extended by the Interior Ministry to the year 2001.

[Yeltsin] They will be permitted.

[Chernomyrdin] To the year 2001. Those which have already been acquired.

The second thing is to instruct the industrial sectors, the Committee for Industrial Policy and our defense sectors to develop a system so that we can revamp them. This practice does exist. We have been told that it is expensive, but let us try to involve the basic sectors and try to organize this revamping.

[Yeltsin] Will it not cost more than the actual car?

[Chernomyrdin] Boris Nikolayevich, they say that in principle it comes to somewhere about 25 percent of the cost of the car if this is done in Japan, if the car comes from there. Let us see if our experts, our designers are capable of this. We are setting this task. That was the second thing.

The third thing, and this is also at the request, primarily, of the heads of administrations, is to introduce a system of regulating the import of these cars. That is, each person is allowed to bring in one car, so that the negative phenomenon of speculation does not arise. So, this seems to be a well considered system, which has been agreed with them.

[Yeltsin] I think that this will reassure people now. Those who have right-hand drive cars can keep on driving until the year 2001. This will reassure them and at the same time will resolve matters for the future so that this problem does not stay with us until the year 3000.

[First announcer] In the period of the transfer to the market and even after this transfer, the state is obliged to show concern for those who are worst off.

[Chernomyrdin] A number of documents have been prepared which I can present today. They primarily concern measures for social benefits and compensation payments to families with children and other categories of citizens. You understand that today this is far from being an easy question and we have been obliged to look at it again, taking account of our budget and all our affairs.

[Yeltsin] How much does this come to?

[Chernomyrdin] Over 150 billion.

[Yeltsin] This includes mothers, children and young people?

[Chernomyrdin] It includes an increase in the single payment on the birth of a child; this is increased from three to five minimum wages, that is, to 21,000 rubles [R]. Additional payments are being increased for children at school and students in trade institutions. That is such a document today, that is...

[Yeltsin] Food!

[Chernomyrdin] ...food for schoolchildren...

[Yeltsin] ...for pre-school children.

[Chernomyrdin] ...in kindergartens.

[Yeltsin] Previously it was R22...

[Chernomyrdin] Now it will be 64.

[Yeltsin] Yes, R64 in subsidies.

[Chernomyrdin] So I will give you this note, the draft decree. Boris Nikolayevich, the point at the Security Council which discussed the question of immediate measures to provide for the health of the Russian population, that is...

[Yeltsin] Ah, that is the state health program for the nation.

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, for the nation's health.

[Yeltsin] So here is the decree and the appropriate program, right?

[Chernomyrdin] Right.

[Yeltsin] Immediate measures for ensuring the well-being of the population in the public health and epidemiological sphere, for preventing infectious and non-infectious diseases in order to reduce the population's death rate. Can we say that if all that is envisaged by this program is implemented—of course together with an ecological program—we will be able to get rid of this negative balance, when the death rate in Russia exceeds the birth rate?

[Chernomyrdin] This is one of the most important issues, Boris Nikolayevich. One of the most important sections is as a matter of fact a combination of the decree which you will sign today on children and motherhood, and here the special section on safe motherhood where the program contains measures to ensure the population's well-being in the public health and epidemiological sphere—that is, monitoring water, food, monitoring the ecological situation, a whole complex of problems are covered here. One of the sections is called safe motherhood.

[First announcer] Incidentally documents have been prepared on increasing wages for servicemen as well.

[Chernomyrdin] I have mentioned all the questions that were planned, according to schedule.

[Yeltsin] Just as we planned.

[First announcer] We have shown the meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. That was only one part of their working day.

## Further on Shakhray 21 Apr News Conference

### Yeltsin To Resign if Referendum Lost

*LD2104134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1313 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—"If the president wins a vote of confidence on the first question put on the ballot papers, and if respondents vote for early elections of Russian people's deputies, the president will realise his March 20 nationwide televised address to the full," said Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray at a news conference today. "If electors fail to express confidence in the president, he will resign," Shakhray said.

Shakhray believes that the referendum will not bring a complete victory to either side. "Those who will vote for and against will be backed by many million people, and I hope that the results will sober the minds of representatives of the branches of power and they will implement a resolution on holding early elections," Shakhray said. However, Shakhray is concerned that those not satisfied with the results of the referendum may launch a long and non-constructive discussion on the interpretation of the results of the referendum.

Shakhray noted that all four questions put on the ballot papers do not imply changes in the constitution, and resolutions on these questions should be made on a basis of a majority vote cast by electors who will turn up at the polling stations.

"As for the first and second questions, the situation is quite clear, but as far as the third and fourth questions are concerned, its early elections of concrete officials—Boris Yeltsin and people's deputies, that are at issue, but not the elimination of an institute of presidency or people's deputies," said Shakhray.

### Responds to Rutskoy Speech

*LD2104191293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1423 GMt 21 Apr 93*

[Text] I now have the opportunity of presenting to you a report on the news conference given today by Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray. He stressed the importance of the forthcoming all-Russian referendum. He noted that at present, power in Russia belongs to no one; it is lying in the dust and only the people can pick it up. Apart from the theme of the referendum, Sergey Shakhray commented on the well-known speech by Vice President Rutskoy at the Supreme Soviet session. He noted that the vice president had used the theme of combatting corruption for the sake of political struggle. Having said that, Sergey Mikhaylovich said:

[Begin Shakhray recording] Not all the instances have been confirmed; indeed to be more precise, the majority of the instances have not been, but that is not the point. Even those things which were announced were taken from specific criminal cases. Eight criminal cases have been instituted with regard to the German Group of Forces. There have been several criminal cases concerning instances of corruption. And when facts have been extracted from criminal cases this violates the secrecy of the investigation and, in my view, causes great damage to the investigation of these cases. When something has been made public, criminals can, as a rule, hide their traces. There is also direct economic damage. This has been stated by the administration of Nakhodka. There is much interest in red mercury and so on.

I would now like to draw your attention to a different problem. The problem of corruption cannot be resolved only by criminal means. Otherwise, we will reach a situation in which one half of society will be unmasking and catching the other half of society. Corruption can and should be combatted from the other end. Of course, we must leave criminal investigation measures in place and step up the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Security Ministry and the Procuracy.

But at present our officialdom—and that is precisely where corruption flourishes—is a multimillion-strong class of people which in the next 10 years, if I am not mistaken, is threatened with being radically reduced. It has been promised for many decades that corruption and all other abuses will be purged from this class by red-hot steel. This is a strata of people which in the course of the economic reforms will lose (?its power), the power of owners. Under our distributive system it was the officials who were the real owners. And now these people, a large number of them, understanding the temporary nature of their existence, seeing that they are threatened from left and right, from below and above, simply steal. They steal in all the best Russian traditions, and even more so. To steal while they still can, that is their basic slogan, to take bribes, to sell licenses, to sell quotas while they still can.

You will not achieve anything against such a phenomenon as corruption in the way announced at the Supreme Soviet. I believe that until officialdom becomes the ally of reform, or until officialdom's neutrality is ensured, no reforms will succeed in Russia. Last year and the year before I proposed a complex of measures to resolve this problem. By the way, I resigned because all of these measures were ignored and we have officialdom in the state we see it today.

To go in for reforms when the state apparatus, the Central Bank and so on are not in the hands of the reformers is, let us say, not a completely thought-through decision. What can and must be done? I am going to say some unpopular things and perhaps I will lose the votes of future electors: It is worthwhile buying out Russia's officialdom. One must put the question in a different way: To buy them out. How can this be done?

State officials should receive guarantees—legally and legitimately, specified in laws and decisions—of very big pensions, plots of land, a proportion of the shares of privatized state enterprises, transport, medical and other services. I am saying very unpopular things—naturally we should combat privileges and so on—but unless we do this, unless we do this, officialdom will never participate in carrying out reforms. It is in society's interest to carry out reforms, and so it is advantageous for it to create conditions for officialdom so that it becomes an ally of reform and gets a taste for ownership. It is only in these conditions that one can require an official to work round the clock and only in these conditions that one can expect the official not to be corrupt. Why? Because he has a choice. If he is caught engaging in corruption he loses his pay, his pension, his well-provided life, health services, and so on and so forth. He has a choice and it is not profitable for him to accept a bribe, and it is not profitable for him to take pay-offs.

Reforms will succeed in Russia only if we have such a system, which can be created with the aid of the laws on state service and decrees, on the fight against corruption, and those economic measures which I spoke about. Our officialdom is a special class and one must not fail to understand this aspect of Russian reality. [end recording]

## Shakhray on 'Presidential' Constitution

*MK2104122093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 1, 3*

[Interview with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray at the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS editorial board, prepared for publication by Yuriy Zaynashev: "April Anti-Theses"—date not given]

[Text] **1. Lawmakers**

[Shakhray] I am very glad to meet with you. Although I have not read your newspaper, or any other for that matter, for around three months, I keep hearing from all sides: "Have you seen the article in MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS? [MK]" This means that the newspaper has its own image; they say that is the key... I promise that I will resubscribe to your newspaper, my older son has just learned to read...

[MK] Could you, Sergey Mikhaylovich, "turn back" and raise the curtain a little bit to reveal how the address of 20 March was prepared?

[Shakhray] The initiative to make the address originated with the president himself. He had to respond after the Eighth Congress. I was even surprised that the president took the requisite pause before making the address, thus accentuating public attention. After the address was made, the impeachment machine was set in motion. The Ninth Congress will probably go down in law textbooks—there were so many pre-rehearsed tricks and impromptu legal moves. For example, I find the proposal to "merge" Yeltsin and Khasbulatov into one ballot despite the rules of procedure a very strong one. This prompted votes by many deputies who were weary of the "Yeltsin-Khasbulatov" squabbles—as they say: "A plague on both your houses!"

[MK] Is the vice president co-author of the edict of 20 March?

[Shakhray] Boris Nikolayevich believed until the eleventh hour that the vice president was with him. Therefore he did not have any doubt that Rutskoy would sign the draft edict. This is how the draft found its way to Rutskoy and Yuriy Skokov. Yuriy Vladimirovich suggested that the part regarding orders to local chiefs of the executive branch be modified, but did not accept the draft at all. As for Aleksandr Vladimirovich, they worked with him for four hours, took into account virtually all his objections, shortened the text, but suddenly he phoned someone, got a piece of advice, and... changed his mind. Then he erased all his amendments to the text, but as a matter of fact, the edict was issued virtually the same as it was finalized by the vice president.

[MK] Why was it that the edict was published only four days later? Were they assessing the repercussions, "tidying up" the text, or was it just a typical snafu?

[Shakhray] Both a certain scenario, and coincidence had a role to play here. The pause between the address and the edict's publication was originally planned. Second, you know that the president's mother passed away. As far as I know, she had assuaged her son: Everything you are doing is right, the people will support you. And, having soothed her son, she herself died some time after. A strong woman she was... Anyway, in the time before the edict was published its name was changed as were some details. And if on Sunday the president receives support, he will go back to the program laid down in that address—a new constitution and early parliamentary elections.

[MK] And what about "the fifth question" of the referendum: the question of how votes should be counted?

[Shakhray] The Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided that the first two questions are "purely informational" ones and do not have any legal effect. Which means that the Presidium has corrected the Congress, but this is common practice here.

If the three sides do not reach agreement, each of them will announce its own rules of the game before 25 April. Let's say, the Supreme Soviet approves the proposal made by its Presidium, and the Constitutional Court passes its own ruling. And the president will reaffirm officially: Votes are to be counted according to the Law on the Referendum.

[MK] How do you think people in remote places, including the countryside, will vote?

[Shakhray] Let us recall the election on 11 April. In Orel Oblast, Stroyev, until recently a CPSU Central Committee secretary, was elected head of administration, and in Kalmykia a young millionaire, Ilyumzhinov, won a presidential race. Here we have developed socialism; there, developing capitalism. And what is happening, for instance, around Mordovia: a "socialist" Ulyanovsk to the south, and "capitalist" Nemtsov in Nizhniy Novgorod to the north. Mordovia is stuck in the middle of the road: coupons no longer work, and privatization has not yet brought its benefits...

In general, what we have is not a conflict between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov or between the president and parliament (we have neither a normal parliament, nor executive branch). What we have is dual power. A republic of the soviets and a democratic presidential republic cohabitate within the framework of one Constitution, devouring each other and giving rise to a power vacuum. This contradiction should be overcome by the people themselves. No one else is capable of doing it.

Either society reelects both the supreme and local authorities, or we will run aground. But any government will deal with approximately the same things. The point of no return appears to have been passed as far as reform is concerned.

### 2. The Constitution 'Immaculately Conceived'

[MK] Sergey Mikhaylovich, who do you think will adopt the new Constitution? Are we in for another all-Russian assembly in half a year's time? And who drafted the Constitution? Rumyantsev, Shakhray, Sobchak? Or, as Filatov used to joke, did it appear via "immaculate conception?"

[Shakhray] Apparently, it will go down in history as the "presidential" draft. It is based on drafts by Rumyantsev, and Shakhray, and Sobchak, and Professor Mishin...

The draft is very simple, having only three sections. The first deals with human rights and the fundamentals of state order. The second is the Federation Treaty. The third is concluding and transitional provisions.

It does not matter if the term "presidential republic" survives in the final version or not. The government will head the vertical line of the executive branch. The prime minister will be appointed by parliament at the president's recommendation. In the event of a government crisis the president—as referee—will be entitled to dissolve parliament and to call for new elections. Second, the popularly elected president will symbolize the unity of the nation. Third, he is the guarantor of human rights.

At present, all the branches of power in Russia are multi-headed. The legislative branch is double-headed (the Congress and the Supreme Soviet). So is the executive (the Council of Ministers and the president). As for the judicial branch, it even has three heads (the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Court of Arbitration). As far as the judicial branch is concerned, the draft retains all the three "heads." But above them—only for "fateful" events, such as the interpretation of the Constitution or the dismissal of the president—a Supreme Judicial Chamber is to be set up. It will be made up of members of the three highest courts plus several federal judges.

[MK] Will the soviets be abolished?

[Shakhray] The parliament will consist of two chambers. The lower one—the State Duma—will do the lawmaking. The higher one—the Council of the Federation—will be made up of deputies from the republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities. Naturally, there will be parliaments in the republics and representative bodies in other components of the Federation, but beyond them local self-government will begin.

Ilyumzhinov asked at a recent Council of Heads of Republics meeting: "How did you plan to carry out reform, Boris Nikolayevich, if it is those who opposed your election that call the shots in all the soviets? Look, I spoke with my Supreme Soviet back in Kalmykia, and the deputies themselves called it a day. As for villages or rayons, they do not need parliaments at all—so I abolished them." Russia will survive only if the republics and provinces hand over to the top, to Moscow, some rights, if only minimal ones, and rely on local self-government from the bottom up.

### 3. Creating 'a Collective Rasputin'

[MK] What do you expect from Oleg Lobov's return as Russian deputy prime minister?

[Shakhray] It was not I who appointed him, I learned about the appointment from the newspapers... Maybe his arrival means "the end" for Chubays and Boris Fedorov. Although it is common knowledge: It takes a cohesive team of like-minded people to move ahead.

[MK] Such reshuffles are always overwhelming. For instance, the dismissal of Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov was just as great a surprise for us. I recall that he used to criticize you, particularly your draft law on the responsibility for noncompliance with the president's decisions ("up to eight years in prison"). What if your draft had been approved a year ago?

[Shakhray] Nikolay Vasilyevich Fedorov berated that draft a priori, without reading it, but the crux of the matter is elsewhere...

The draft was only a component of a program aimed at transforming the bureaucracy ("On the Fight Against Corruption," "On Civil Service," and "On Criminal Charges for Noncompliance With Presidential Edicts"). I resigned last spring in part because my proposals were rejected. I am confident that nothing can be renewed until we turn the bureaucrats into allies of reform, or at least secure their neutrality. It is cheaper for society to "buy" the bureaucrats—with shares, plots of land, pensions, and so forth. As long as the bureaucrat is making his living via distribution, until he himself gets a taste of ownership—no reform can succeed.

As a matter of fact, this approach, if taken, will give more grounds to require the bureaucrats to work extra hours and to act tougher in cases of corruption. Furthermore, who will want to risk being caught in small-time bribery, if there is a chance that by doing so they may lose their well-paid and stable way of life.

Currently ministers are roaming the corridors, wondering: What should we do now that we are no longer able to dismiss factory directors? We should have retained the levers of command in the state sector, and used taxes, sanctions, and other controls to manage the other sectors. In the United States itself nearly all nuclear power plants are in private hands, but common rules apply to all of them—but just try and violate technological requirements there!..

No one wields power in Russia. As I have already mentioned, it is lying underfoot in the dust—there is just no one to pick it up. All my successes or failures as deputy prime minister have been caused by whether I was able to persuade, convince, or motivate people.

The prosecutor's office appears to hold the following view: It allegedly enforces laws and decrees passed by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress and does not see to it that presidential edicts are complied with, does not secure their enforcement.

[MK] On what ground was the Justice Ministry entrusted to Yuriy Kalmykov—owing to his business abilities or for ethnic reasons?

[Shakhray] We have nearly forgotten about the Justice Ministry. Six hundred staffers, two buildings in the capital—and scarcely a draft or a proposal is coming from them! As for Yuriy Kalmykov, he is a civil law specialist, one of the few in the former Soviet Union. We expect him to present soon a package of "economic" bills.

Kalmykov has shown himself in the union parliament not only as a law student, but also a proficient administrator. I hope that he will bring order to the ministry. All the three highest courts of Russia, and also various political factions trust him.

And one last point to make: Kalmykov heads a national movement in the Caucasus. Hence, his ascent in Moscow is to the benefit of the Russian Federation. And then time will tell. I am supervising this ministry after all.

[MK] Sergey Mikhaylovich, are you part of "a collective Rasputin?"

[Shakhray] When this term was pronounced, Poltoranin, Kozyrev, and Shumeyko, jokingly, split all the functions of "a collective Rasputin" among themselves—one in charge of women, another intrigues, the third, Bacchus. As I came by they told me: no responsibilities left for you. So, I was admitted as a candidate member of the "collective Rasputin."

## Kostikov Warns of Media Anti-Yeltsin Slander Campaign

*LD2104163193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1530 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—The Russian President is no landlord as the former communist daily "PRADVA" claimed on Wednesday [21 April] and possesses only a quarter of a hectare of land near Moscow, presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov said in a statement.

"Heading the campaign of slander" against the president on the eve of the nationwide referendum the "PRAVDA" shocks its readers with fantastic "facts" about land owned by Boris Yeltsin and numerous personal villas which he is building throughout the country, according to the statement.

In reality, the president is building only one "dacha" in Gorkiy, near Moscow. The Yeltsins are paying for the construction themselves. The size of the land plot is 2,500 square metres, Kostikov said.

Gorkiy is the place where the founder of the Soviet Union Vladimir Lenin spent the last days of his life.

Kostikov added that the "campaign of slander" unleashed against the president by several mass media and high-ranking officials was triggered by fear of conservative forces to lose the coming referendum.

The press service called on the people to be vigilant as new provocations from conservative and revenge-seeking forces make come [as received].

## Supreme Soviet's Anti-Yeltsin Campaign Condemned

*PM2104145793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 4*

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich report: "Yeltsin Wanted Referendum? Let Him Have It. Antipresidential Campaign Plan Approved at Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Conference"]

[Text] The progress of the preparations for the referendum was examined at a closed conference held in the White House last week under the chairmanship of Valentin Agafonov, deputy head of the Russian parliament. A package of materials was submitted for the attention of those present (approximately 30 people, almost all deputies). These materials of very diverse genres (information, method aids, statistical reports, leaflets) were grouped in a single file on a basis common to them all—their overt antipresidential thrust unconstrained by any decencies.

Another distinguishing feature of the aforesaid documents was their total anonymity. Their authorship was certified only by the "public committee 'Reforms for the People'"—a mythical organization not registered by anyone anywhere.

There is no need to guess what the Russian legislators discussed behind closed doors or the direction in which their restless thoughts were working. "The president has messed up the Soviet Union and is now messing up

Russia in the name of the struggle against the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet...." "He has permitted the highest level of crime for 30 years, which threatens to create a mafia state in Russia...." "He is using his control over state television and radio to dupe the people and turn them into blind doers of the will of the 'master' and his entourage...." "He is leading the country toward a national disaster...."

I cite just the most decorous of the agitational material submitted to the lofty gathering. For editing and approval? With subsequent publication at IZVESTIYA's printing plant, which is subordinate to parliament? If not for this, then for what? The text, whose heavyweight version can be derived from any Congress stenographic record, was not created specially to enlighten Baburin and Sayenko.

No, the product, experimental models of which have undergone "state acceptance" in the White House (incidentally, the documents circulated to the conference participants included typewritten originals of the very leaflets whose publication with a print run of 3 million has already been reported by IZVESTIYA), is destined for wide consumption.

The standard of agitation is as follows: "Speculators and mafiosi! Usurers and brokers! Corrupt people and bribetakers! Careerists and swindlers! Future aristocrats and capitalists! Support the president and his course in the referendum. Only B.N. Yeltsin and his team are capable of reliably defending your interests against the people!"

I can well picture the scene: Plenipotentiary representatives of the legislature are seated in an office, probably decorated with the state flag, under the chairmanship of a high official. They are conferring on how to overthrow the president as adroitly as possible. A scene unimaginable either in the U.S. Congress, or in the British parliament, or in the German Bundestag, or anywhere, in any legislative assembly in the civilized world.

"Of course, there is still a lot of work ahead, and the accursed legacy of totalitarianism is making itself felt. Not all kindergartens have yet been sold to commercial structures, not all palaces of culture have yet been turned into casinos and brothels, not all plants have yet come to a standstill, and not all of science has yet gone to pieces. But let the difficulties not deter us! Nothing can halt our onward movement backward! Under the sign of Reagan-Bush-Clinton, under the wise leadership of the great Yeltsin—forward to new heights of prices and taxes! Long live the unbreakable union of slaves and slave owners, feudal lords and serfs, capitalists and their hired workers!..."

If these appeals have already appeared in the streets, it will be useful for their readers to know that the text has been approved in the Supreme Soviet. As the best friend of all agitprop workers would have said in other times: "We have consulted each other and decided to recommend the material proposed by our comrades for extensive use in the campaign against enemies of the people." Not that communist agitprop descended to this sort of thing. But as regards the brainwashing methods, there is complete continuity here.

"Method Materials for the Referendum of 25 April 1993"—this is the title of a study constituting 14 pages of closely typed text. In this collection of practical recommendations, which are not devoid of a scientific approach, of knowledge of mass psychology, or the skills of playing on public sentiments, you can feel a confident professional hand.

Here are examples suggested to voluntary agitprop workers. "An action group can organize the sending of letters to the editorial offices of local and central newspapers. Account should be taken of the fact that the publication of such letters must influence the most complex section of the electorate and the waverers. For example, a letter about why they will definitely vote against Yeltsin this time can be written by a former supporter of Yeltsin, his fiduciary, a serviceman, a priest of the Muslim faith from Tatarstan, and a representative of 'Democratic Russia.'"

To judge from articles in PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and DEN, this recommendation has been carried out. Another one is also being implemented: "A unique form of agitation through a newspaper is the publication of the results of sociological research—Yeltsin's rating in a given region. If these results indicate an obvious loss for Yeltsin and his entourage, the publication of the outcome of this research can win over to our side those who are still wavering. The so-called 'line effect' operates: On seeing a line, a person wishes to buy a commodity which he might have ignored if there had not been a line. Likewise, on seeing that the majority do not support Yeltsin, a doubter might, 'like everyone,' vote against Yeltsin, who does not enjoy nationwide confidence."

Among the elements of political publicity which, in the opinion of the study's authors, elicit the voters' greatest interest, they recommend "sensational stories and unexpected statements which might entail qualitative changes." This has been put into practice—see Vice President Rutskoy's recent statement to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The nameless authors of the aid advise volunteers to use "unconventional agitation (with humor, verses, drawings, posters)." It is required to "show that Yeltsin's policy is not supported by peasants, workers, well-known artistes, sportsmen, popular individuals, or representatives of various professions." There is an instruction to "cut out and disseminate articles by people who do not support the present socioeconomic course; to conduct agitation during mass measures—at the stadium, in the cinema—and to set up agitation at stations and outside foodstores."

The package of materials examined at the conference in the Supreme Soviet also included a list of regions which look "promising against the president" (Altay, Krasnodar, Stavropol, Tambov, Tver), centers "on which the president is counting" (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Perm, Chelyabinsk, Nizhniy Novgorod), and points of "relative equilibrium" (Arkhangelsk, Astrakhan, Belgorod, Bryansk, Volgograd, Voronezh, Omsk, etc.).

In short, as used to be reported at party and economic aktiv meetings, "definite work has been done." There is no doubt about its scale and soundness: The work has been done not by a "public committee" of dilettantes but by a large and respectable collective of professionals equipped with scientific knowledge, experience of communist agitprop, apparatus skill, means of communication, and modern office equipment.

Whether the Supreme Soviet ordered this costly propaganda product, produced it itself, or only certified it for a "seal of quality" is an idle and immaterial question from the juridical viewpoint. Something else is important juridically: Who paid? Agitprop paid for out of the state treasury on the eve of referenda is prohibited by law. There have not yet been any reports of an amendment making it possible to fund the antipresidential campaign with taxpayers' money. Not that the deputies will be slow to come up with an amendment, if necessary.

## Rutskoy Views 'Absurdity' of Current Situation

*LD2104205693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2028 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, leader of the Civic Union bloc, who has joined an election campaign in view of the forthcoming elections, has convened a meeting of supporters of the Civic Union on Wednesday [21 April].

Apart from a Free Party of People's Russia, led by the vice president, the Civic Union comprises the Democratic Party of Russia led by Nikolay Travkin, the All-Russian Union "Renewal," led by Aleksandr Vladislavlyev, a number of parliamentary factions, youth organisations and a Federation of Russian Independent Trade Unions.

In Rutskoy's opinion, "the absurdity of the situation in which we found ourselves is that from 1989-1990 nothing has changed in society. There was a totalitarian rule and still remains, there was dictatorship and it still exists," Rutskoy said. He noted that as a human being, he was genuinely sorry for Boris Yeltsin, since playing a game of give-away with his entourage has brought him to a crisis.

Rutskoy said that since the very beginning, the Civic Union was against any polls and referendums. "Let us get down to business at last with a full sense of responsibility," Rutskoy declared calling to pursue a policy of national accord.

According to co-chairman of the Renewal Union Aleksandr Vladislavlev, since the very beginning the Civic Union was against holding the referendum, impeaching the president and holding early elections. "We believed that the settlement could be reached in the framework of a civilized political compromise," Vladislavlev said.

In the opinion of Leader of the Democratic Party of Russia Nikolay Travkin, "the only way out of the crisis is early elections, while the referendum itself will not resolve any problems."

## Rutskoy Discusses Need for National Accord on Reforms

*LD2204000893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1736 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yegor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy sees the purpose of a policy of national accord as being the search for unity, which is currently missing, in the way that the various political forces of Russia view the conduct of the economic reforms. He stated this today in his speech at the conference of leaders of Moscow's public self-governing bodies.

The vice president is convinced that what is needed is a joint search—together with the interested parties—for ways to achieve a compromise because, he said, the economic reforms are now supported by the whole of Russian society except for the radicals.

Rutskoy once again spoke of the need to work out the aims of the development of Russia and to determine, on the basis of this, the tasks facing the state. It is precisely the absence of a state ideology, he stressed, that is leading to society's being split into "Red-Browns" and "Democrats". At the same time, the vice president noted, they are all citizens of the Russian Federation. Rutskoy said that Russia has experienced everything that is now going on in the country more than once.

The vice president also touched on the motives that had caused him to speak on 16 April at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet devoted to the fight against crime and corruption. The deciding factor that had caused him to take this step was the speech he had seen President Boris Yeltsin giving in the Bolshoy Theatre and "the propaganda campaign in the mass media".

Replying to a question from the hall about what gives the vice president the moral right "to attack the president", Rutskoy said: "The right of a citizen of this country who cannot remain silent and by his silence encourage what is happening in society."

Touching on the possible results of the referendum, the vice president said: "I doubt if it will solve anything."

After the departure of the vice president, Veniamin Sokolov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, withdrew from the planned agenda his report entitled "The Political and Socioeconomic Situation in Russia and the Referendum on 25 April".

### Chubays Responds to Rutskoy's Criticisms on Privatization

*LD2204032593*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1807 GMT on 21 April carries a 15-minute recorded interview with Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays by correspondent I. Minayev in Moscow on the "Topical Interview" program.

Minayev asks Chubays whether the sharp criticism of the privatization program, as expressed in the recent speech by Vice President Rutskoy to the parliament, is connected with the general political situation in the country. Chubays says that, indeed, there is a correlation.

He says: "The more active the privatization process is, the more state property that is taken away from the state functionaries and falls into the hands of the ordinary people, the more vicious are the attacks of criticism, which sometimes turn into straightforward persecution. However, it is all understandable. This is how people will behave when they begin to realize that the last attributes of their 'nomenklatura' influence over property are taken away from them.

"I think Rutskoy's speech in the parliament was an example of such a feeling. Naturally, we are preparing an official response to each of the facts mentioned by Rutskoy. Nevertheless, I can already comment on the most obvious accusations that were made in his speech. I am ready here, with documents in my hands, to comment on the main points of Rutskoy's speech."

Chubays goes on to say that, to begin with, Rutskoy has been extremely choosy about a building for the offices of his commission for fighting corruption and crime. He shows an official list of buildings offered to Rutskoy's commission and letters of refusal from Rutskoy, commenting on a remarkable lack of urgency demonstrated by Rutskoy in his search for the appropriate premises.

At the same time, Chubays says, when the question of suitable accommodations for the Revival Fund—an investment organization chaired by Rutskoy—had arisen, Rutskoy put such enormous pressure on the State Property Committee headed by Chubays that it had to vacate its own premises and let Rutskoy's organization move in.

Chubays says: "Among the serious issues raised in his speech, the allegations connected with the overseas property of the Armed Forces could be viewed as very serious indeed. We have to admit—and this was already mentioned by the president and in a number of government documents—that some gross violations were committed here. It was not Aleksandr Vladimirovich who discovered them. Nevertheless, they did happen. By the way, this was the reason the government dismissed the chairman of the commission for the property of the Western Group of Troops from his post. This was done because the commission's work was found to be unsatisfactory.

"I have here a decree by President Yeltsin of 1 March, by which special services for monitoring the use of the Armed Forces' property abroad was set up in place of this disbanded commission. What is written here in black and white is that Vice President Rutskoy is being appointed to exercise control over its implementation. Therefore, according to all the existing regulations, Vice President Rutskoy is the person who is responsible today for this work in the state of Russia. That is, he is responsible for the use of the property belonging to the Russian Federation Armed Forces overseas.

"This has been his responsibility for two months now. What are the results? Instead of a single case being submitted to the procuracy or a single crime being uncovered, we hear these half-baked conclusions in the parliament. Behind all this is a thought: 'I am not guilty of anything, I am not responsible for all this and cannot do anything about it.' So, instead of the real work and responsibility a vice president should bear, he makes such political statements."

Discussing Rutskoy's accusations about scandalously cheap prices paid for privatized state properties such as the Murmansk shipping line, Nakhodka sea port, Luzhniki stadium, and Sheremetyevo airport, Chubays says that Rutskoy has deliberately avoided criticizing the legal aspects of such privatization. He says that, according to the existing law on privatization—in which working collectives buy out an enterprise—its purchase price is calculated on the basis of its residual value. That is why, Chubays says, it appears so cheap. He says that, in all the mentioned cases, it was the working collectives that were buying out these enterprises.

Chubays shows a certificate issued by the commission for fighting corruption and crime—appointed by Rutskoy—which was sent to investigate the privatization of the Murmansk shipping line. The commission concluded that no facts of violation of the law had taken place. Chubays then goes on to say that Rutskoy's main purpose for carrying out such a great deal of preparatory work and collecting such an impressive amount of incriminating documents was not the desire for justice and the punishment of those responsible for violations—in which case he would have gone straight to court. Instead, it was simply to stage a political show and create an image of himself as a fighter against evil.

Chubays says: "It is now absolutely clear that the only real aim of all this is the highly-desirable presidential chair. At the same time, the most corrupted people in Russia mentioned by Rutskoy just happen to be precisely those people for whom Rutskoy bears his well-known personal political hostility. His commission has identified only such people and no-one else."

He adds: "The most important and dangerous thing is that Rutskoy has dealt a serious political blow to privatization in general. In this respect, he has forged a good political union with the Supreme Soviet deputies, as well as with those officials in the industrial ministries and departments who, naturally, would gladly suspend privatization. This is the most dangerous and sad thing.

"I also appreciate, however, that this is their last and decisive battle. Precisely because privatization has already reached its decisive stage all over Russia. Our opponents understand very well that if they fail to stop it today, tomorrow they will lose all their remaining influence—which they used to exercise through their command of the state property. They will lose the remains of the system perpetrated by the ruling 'nomenklatura' itself. Whether Rutskoy wants it or not, he comes forward as the main defender of these forces and the main exponent of their interests.

"The last thing I would like to say is to ask Aleksandr Vladimirovich, who likes such colorful speeches so much, to put his words into action—to put into action what he so loudly pronounced to the whole world. He said that he will prove it in any court that Chubays is guilty. I am asking him—already for the second time, first through the press and now on television—go on, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, do it. For once in your life, act as a real man and carry your threat to the end—not with slogans but with real work. Then it will become clear what everyone is worth."

To the question whether he himself will appeal to the courts if Rutskoy does not do it himself, Chubays says that he thought about this and was advised by lawyers that Rutskoy's speech contains enough evidence for libel charges. He says he has little time, however, and he will continue doing his work and help more collectives to privatize their enterprises rather than using it for legal wrangles.

Chubays says: "All those courts, the collection of compromising evidence, all those 90 suitcases of documents—let Rutskoy do all that. It is his field. Let him develop these talents further."

To the last question on whether he disagrees with the prime minister on the privatization process and on whether he will resign if the industry ministries are again to be given control over the enterprises, Chubays says that reports of his resignation or intention to resign appear regularly, almost every other day.

He says: "The text of yesterday's television broadcast was a gross distortion of what I really said. I can tell you that I worked, I am still working, and I will continue to work until that moment when the ideas for the sake of which I came here have the chance to be implemented."

## Rutskoy Says 'Future Lies With Centrists'

*PM2104122393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 3*

[Account of "Direct Line" phone-in with Vice President A. Rutskoy by O. Gerasimenko, N. Dolgopolov, A. Podkopalov, V. Simonov, and I. Chernyak; date not given: "Aleksandr Rutskoy: 'I Have Seen a Great Deal in This World and Some Things in the Other'"]

[Text] [Caller] This is Aleksey Vasilyevich Safronov speaking from Moscow. I think you are ok, but your recent speech simply shocked me. Your behavior was quite out of keeping with your position and your age, you behaved like a four-year old boy: "Mommy, Bobby's taken my car." That is the first thing. Second, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you look very unimpressive in the eyes of the world's politicians. The whole world realizes that, if the vice president opposes the president, it is the junior who should resign. So, go and resign; please do not make people laugh.

[Rutskoy] Aleksey Vasilyevich, wouldn't you like to give the president that advice? People are being robbed hand over fist, the population's income has been halved in a year, yet you are telling me to keep quiet?

[Caller] You are right in principle, but you are accusing the wrong people. It was the CPSU that robbed us. They have stashed all the money away.

[Rutskoy] I am currently finding out with the Interdepartmental Commission [for Combating Crime] what the new leaders have done with the CPSU's money. I will show that CPSU property was also embezzled. You say that I am accusing the wrong people. As you know, I have been entrusted with fighting crime and corruption. What I said at the Supreme Soviet represents just a tenth of it. There is a whole iceberg to come. The state is being plundered left, right, and center and by no means by outsiders.

[Caller] It is of course a pity that things are working out like this, but take my advice: To hell with it, resign. People are saying: Look at him behaving like a stubborn child in the playground saying, "I will not give in; I will fight till there is blood." That is not necessary.

[Rutskoy] Let me say this to you. No one will give me another homeland. With all due respect I cannot bear to look at all this anarchy where the state is being shamelessly plundered in the name of reform. As well as being vice president I am also a Russian citizen. I do not want the vice president to be a clown who nods his head in this puppet theater and is manipulated by strings. As for world opinion... opinions vary. Let us see who is right. I tell you that no state treats its own people as we do.

[Caller] Alan Vladimirovich Muriyev here from Vladikavkaz. How do you intend to vote in the referendum?

[Rutskoy] It is unethical for me to say how I will vote on the first question. I will vote "no" on the second question, because I fundamentally disagree with this policy for implementing reform and have done so from the very outset. And I will vote "yes" on the third question. Here is my opinion on the fourth question: If voters like the deputy whom they elected, they should vote "no"; if they do not, they should vote "yes."

[Caller] My name is Sergey Vladimirovich. Can I ask you an awkward question? You realize that we voted for the president, for Yeltsin, in an election? And any other contender for the post of vice president would have done in your place. It was Yeltsin who was elected, while you were there to make up the numbers...

[Rutskoy] Sergey Vladimirovich, why do you think a Hero of the Soviet Union and a colonel was asked to run with Boris Nikolayevich?

[Caller] You did of course have the Army behind you as well as a large body of voters.

[Rutskoy] That is right. Let us be consistent. I had supporters because I took an active part in the political process. People in Russia already knew me as a people's deputy. Consequently I also brought with me some percentage of the vote.

[Caller] There is one thing that I do not understand: What is the origin of your animosity toward the president? Did you want to control the country instead of an aircraft?

[Rutskoy] I have always been loyal to Boris Nikolayevich personally and will remain so. I respect the man. He is older and more experienced than I. I am impressed by his courage and determination, but it is not only personal relations that are important, right? For 18 months now all my attempts to be of use to the president and, naturally, to our fatherland have been spurned. I am fairly self-critical, but I see a host of sensible proposals being blatantly disregarded—with no explanation. I have one complaint to make of the president: He has succumbed to the influence of his entourage. An immoral entourage, far removed from the problems of our society.

Come on now: In a year the bulk of Russia's population, almost 80 percent, have been reduced to the position of beggars! With all due respect, it is not only a matter of political responsibility. It is a matter of conscience. How many times have I gone to Boris Nikolayevich? Rumors are now circulating that I go to him to ask his forgiveness... I have never asked his forgiveness. No one talks to him the way I do. They are afraid to do so. I venture to tell the president frankly: "Boris Nikolayevich, that is not the way to work. Then you say to me: Perhaps I should resign, quit? Why this uncertainty? Do you have faith in me or not?" The president replies: "I do. Carry on with your work." And that is what I do, all charged up like a battery. I work things out and make proposals. Then one day comes the call: Resign, resign, resign. Now this barrier has been put up. And look how solid it is.

[Caller] During the president's recent meeting with members of the creative intelligentsia Yeltsin said that he would talk to you about your impending resignation. Did you have that talk?

[Rutskoy] Not yesterday or the day before. Recently I have only seen Boris Nikolayevich on television. Speaking in purely human terms it is a pity.

[Caller] There is a story—or perhaps it is true—going around Moscow that if Yeltsin loses the referendum things will go badly for all his supporters and not only in the metaphorical sense of the word. Lists have already been drawn up.

[Rutskoy] No, that is all rubbish. However radical Sterligov, Anpilov, and Baburin are, no lists are being compiled.

[Caller] Have you met with Anpilov?

[Rutskoy] No, but I have tried to speak to everyone. The Communists came to see me too, but I have not met Anpilov. I do not meet people like that.

[Caller] Good day, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, I have always taken notice of you. You seem a very energetic person and, I thought, very fair, but now you have kind-of begun to rush off on a tangent. Why do you see the bad side of Yeltsin and not of [Supreme Soviet Chairman] Ruslan Khasbulatov? Or [Constitutional Court Chairman] Zorkin? Why did you not say in your report that Khasbulatov has given Zorkin three apartments?

[Rutskoy] First, I have never rushed off on a tangent. I have a clear, consistent position. I have not changed it since I entered politics. Now with regard to your question. I know Valeriy Dmitriyevich Zorkin very well. It is a blatant lie that Khasbulatov has given him three apartments. I have been to Valeriy Dmitriyevich's home, and he does not have three apartments. He is an intellectual to the fiber of his being. He would not hurt a fly. He is a profound believer. Let me tell you seriously. He was a churchgoer while still a student and he goes every Sunday. He observes all the fasts. Dirty tricks are simply out of character where he is concerned.

[Caller] This is Giulietto Chiesa speaking. I am an Italian journalist. Do you think that President Clinton and the West as a whole, the G-7, were mistaken in concentrating political and economic aid in Boris Nikolayevich's hands as if he were Russia's only reformer?

[Rutskoy] Let us start by asking: What is credit? Credit is money that is borrowed and must be repaid. We are not creditworthy today. Although we could repay the credit if a normal, civilized attitude were taken to settlements in foreign economic activity. With regard to the aid that has been offered: As you know, I am more in favor not of any particular kind of aid, but of cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis. Why? Because it is cooperation that enables both sides to obtain a profit. And so there is no need to get into the debt trap. Although we have already gotten ourselves into it. If mechanisms are not created for using credit and investment capacities—not only intrastate but also external credit and investment—they will vanish in the mist as they have done in the past. I personally take a normal view of credit and investment, but from the standpoint of assessing their contribution to some priority, specific programs—under the jurisdiction of both state organs and democratically elected institutions. People—yours and ours—must be aware of what has been achieved with the funds allocated. Do you agree? The slump in basic production industries currently stands at 30 percent in our country, the figure is the same in agriculture, and GNP has dropped by 20 percent over the year and 19 percent in the first quarter of 1993. It is hard to support what are called economic transformations. Now a word about reformers. Of course we have more than one reformer in our country and, although I have long been labeled anti-market, I am in favor of reforms. But I am in favor of consistent, phased actions that define priorities and are oriented on our own capabilities. It is acceptable to involve foreign capital in that.

[Caller] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, my name is Anya and I am a student in Irkutsk. What would you advise me to do: Should I take part in the referendum or not get embroiled in this squabble? I want to be above...

[Rutskoy] This is what I would say to you, Anya: This referendum is largely a moral one. I think that everyone should express their opinion regardless of how they are canvassed and which way they are drawn. If you like, this represents a real opportunity to ponder our present situation and the future. You will agree that we forget this amid the hustle and bustle, but on 25 April you have to decide once and for all for yourself as a citizen: Either we carry on pandering to "unchallenged" [bezalternativnyy] politicians who are capable of changing their convictions three times a day, or we start living a worthy life.

[Caller] Hello, this is Yelena Viktorovna from Moscow. I am afraid that bad people are using your honesty and your openness for their own ends. In the struggle against the president, for instance.

[Rutskoy] No, Yelena Viktorovna, I am not as uncomplicated as I seem. I am 45 years old and so far no one has used me as a pawn. That is simply impossible.

[Caller] May God give you strength.

[Caller] This is the chairman of Volgograd Oblast's Lenin Kolkhoz on the line. My name is Lidiya Nikolayevna. I have been asked to tell you: Our 400 workers got just one suit with their "Harvest-90" checks, and we want to hang this suit next to the rayon banner... When will we stop disgracing ourselves before people?

[Rutskoy] If I remain vice president, I will scrap "Harvest-90," and not just that, but also the debts for 1991 and 1992. I said that my main aim in the field of agriculture as a whole is to settle up with people and I will do everything that I can.

[Caller] But you must admit that nothing has happened to agriculture while you have been tackling it.

[Rutskoy] Do you remember what the Supreme Soviet said to me: "We are entrusting you with agriculture." What an insult! I did not take umbrage or refuse. I began to investigate matters. I found people. I worked out a set of proposals. Has even one of my proposals on the agroindustrial complex been adopted? They have all met with the answer: "No, no, no." Or else they have gone unanswered altogether. First Gavriil Kharitonovich [Popov] and then the president looked me in the eyes from the rostrum and said: "We entrusted you with agriculture and the fight against crime, but you have failed." Isn't that offensive? Isn't that shameful to me? It was almost 18 months ago that I proposed things that the president and [Prime Minister] Chernomyrdin are saying today. Yet they are now being presented as new ideas. That is a year of missed opportunities!

[Caller] Mr. Vice President, what was the purpose of your recent statement in the Supreme Soviet: Was it to step up the fight against corruption or was it an attempt to discredit the actions of the president and the government ahead of the referendum?

[Rutskoy] First, it was a spontaneous statement. You remember that the Congress approved the creation of an interdepartmental commission to combat corruption and organized crime. Then the all-Russia conference of law-enforcement organs was held. Then came vigorous work on the part of the interdepartmental commission on cases of corruption and economic crime. That was the background to my report. I never wanted to discredit the president. I only want to stop this corrupt, criminal chaos known as reform. Stop it, because this by no means constitutes reform.

[Caller] In 70 years we were unable to provide the country with substantial amounts of food, clothes, and shoes. Yet you want this done in two or three years. Why are you making these complaints about the new authorities...

[Rutskoy] I am a pragmatist. Objective analysis shows that we are wasting roughly half of the agricultural output that we produce. Can you imagine that? That problem can be resolved in three or four years by means of the correct economic policy. That is the answer to your "food" question.

[Caller] Can you tell us straight whether you are in favor of socialism or capitalism?

[Rutskoy] I am in favor of market relations, but civilized, socially oriented relations. I am in favor of every person's having political and economic freedoms, being able to live a worthy life, and having property and the means to live.

[Caller] This is Natalya Anatolyevna Spiridonova speaking from Zelenograd. When Rutskoy is president, he will not make any mistakes, then?

[Rutskoy] You know, I do not consider myself smarter than anyone else; no one is insured against mistakes, but there is a limit. When these mistakes taken together cause economic and moral tragedy, with all due respect, it is no longer a question of mistakes but of a danger posed to Russia.

[Caller] But you do not spend time in Russia; you are always going abroad.

[Rutskoy] Me go abroad? You are engaging in idle blather there. It is very easy to check out how many times I have been away, for what purpose, and the results of the trips.

[Caller] Good day. This is Oleg Frantsevich Zharskiy speaking from Moscow. I work at a military academy. A highly immoral practice has developed where the names of the academy's leaders are found on the jackets of academic textbooks, works, and other documents that the leaders generally have nothing to do with. I was sad to see your name on a work entitled "Agrarian Policy in Russia." Is this ethical?

[Rutskoy] Oleg Frantsevich, I will pass you over to my assistant, he will take your address. Come and see me. I will show you the manuscript that I wrote with my own hand, then all your questions will be answered. I wrote that work myself using archive material.

[Caller] I have a second question if you please, Aleksandr Vladimirovich. You said yesterday in the Supreme Soviet that the people have not demanded your resignation. What is your view then of the demand made by the 100,000-strong rally on Vasiliyevskiy Spusk on 28 March?

[Rutskoy] Did you record that rally?

[Caller] I was there; I do not need to record it.

[Rutskoy] Well then, you simply should have opened your eyes wider and seen who was at the rally and who likes the situation that we have today.

[Caller] My name is Mukolev. I am from Sevastopol. Do you consider it necessary to demand that Ukraine returns the Crimea to Russia?

[Rutskoy] I would say that the current approach to the Crimean problem is unfair, quite unfair to Russia. Do you know Russian history, do you know when the Black Sea Fleet was founded and by whom? We are not the issue even. Our descendants will come along and they will return to this, because an unjust decision is like an abscess.

[Caller] I feel that Russia is not in the mood for us now with its terrible inflation. Recently the militia tore up Russian flags. We are already stuck here thanks to the coupons. Children cannot meet with their parents. We are completely isolated. An iron curtain is being lowered.

[Rutskoy] It would be preferable to put this question to the president. You probably listened to [Ukrainian President] Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk's statement yesterday. He said that, if the referendum does not end in Boris Nikolayevich's favor, the CIS will disappear off the map, but this CIS has never existed anyway. Let us ponder the word "commonwealth" [sodruzhestvo]. If we want a commonwealth, let us be friends [druzhit], but not like this.

[Caller] This is Timofey Voronin, a student at a military school. You are probably always being asked questions about politicians, but I am interested in this: Is it true that your wife is a designer for Yudashkin and does her utmost to promote him?

[Rutskoy] What is wrong in her working for a fashion house? They have had international shows and been acknowledged in Paris by Cardin himself. What my wife Lyudmila does is a healthy, good thing! She tries to get people to dress nicely. Incidentally, I was friends with Yudashkin before becoming vice president.

[Caller] Could you say a few things about your family and your children?

[Rutskoy] My elder son Dmitriy is 22 years old and is a student at Moscow's Medical Institute. My younger son Aleksandr graduated from the Suvorov School, but he has a slight sight defect and is now studying at the Finance Academy. My sons criticize me, and quite a lot. Admittedly, we see one another rarely since I come home very late from work, but on Sundays we have fairly serious discussions.

[Caller] You get the impression that military men, never mind politicians, are rather limited people, but Yeltsin has of late done his utmost to destroy that impression, he has begun to put in more frequent appearances at the theater, and he even goes to football. What kind of recreation do you go in for?

[Rutskoy] I do go to the theater, but I am not pursued by TV cameras. As for recreation... I have a passionate love of fishing. I read and play sport. I still get up at 6 AM and do my exercises. I love playing volleyball, tennis, and football. I have a deep respect for sport. It is a great pity that mass sport is in such a sorry state in our country at the moment.

[Caller] Thank you on behalf of all our students for what you have said.

[Rutskoy] I wish you successful service, boys. Many people are now leaving the Army, disillusioned, but that will not last long. Over the next three or four years the situation will stabilize and men in greatcoats will not be considered drab and "lacking in prestige."

[Caller] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, my name is Pavel. I have this question for you: Aren't you afraid that Yeltsin may lose the referendum and this entire team will be replaced by Baburin, Astafyev, Zyuganov, and Zhirinovskiy—that is, the by no means mythical but real Red-Browns? After all, former Communists have formed a good lineup with these chauvinists, and it looks as though you too favor them.

[Rutskoy] No, Pavel, let's be consistent. As far as I personally am concerned, I never threw away my party card; I was simply expelled from the party "for factionalism." I was not advocating factionalism, I was just trying to show that it was necessary to change attitudes within the party itself, not only toward society's problems, but in particular toward the economy, ideology, and moral areas.

Let us take a look now. People today are trying to scare us by saying that if the democrats do not win (and they are by no means democrats, because their attitude to people and society as a whole is not a democratic approach) the Communists and others will triumph, but that is impossible. People well remember what we experienced for 70 years or more. But there are the centrists and Civic Union in addition to the extreme left-and extreme right-wingers. It comprises 15 sociopolitical movements and parties that favor a socially oriented economy and a civilized transition to the market; they advocate the creation of equal starting conditions for the development of new economic relations and an appropriate credit and investment policy. Civic Union's ideology is based on the Russian idea, not on left- or right-wing radicalism, never mind extremism, so the future lies with the centrists. As for what you were saying, scaring people with the communist bogey is a political trick. Incidentally, there are plenty of decent people who are Communists.

[Caller] This is Svetlana from Belarus. Do you believe in the various predictions and forecasts? And what do you believe in on the whole?

[Rutskoy] I personally believe in God and in human reason. Nothing more.

[Caller] You must nevertheless know that this is a very good year for you, the stars are smiling on you.

[Rutskoy] Thank you, Svetlana. Happy Easter.

[Caller] This is Gennadiy Pavlovich speaking from Moscow. Are you ready and willing to become Russia's president if circumstances so demand?

[Rutskoy] I consider it immoral to talk about this subject at all while the president is alive and at work.

[Caller] But what if, for instance, the people do not express confidence in the president and Yeltsin resigns?

[Rutskoy] The constitution makes provision for all that. Under the constitution I must perform the president's duties for three months and then new elections will be held.

[Caller] Would you run for president?

[Rutskoy] Everything depends on the circumstances that take shape over the next six months, but I am not about to give up—I have sufficient strength, I am fully in control of the situation, and I will undoubtedly stand.

[Caller] I am a military man, I wish to remain anonymous, but I must say something. Since you have undertaken to help the president, you must carry this through to its conclusion.

[Rutskoy] I have done that for 18 months, but you know the result.

[Caller] Remember Gorkiy's Danko, who led people across the marshes, through the dark woods. Boris Nikolayevich is our Danko today and I am sure that he will lead us through.

[Rutskoy] It is now three years that we have been tramping through the marsh led by Danko, and I am up to my neck in the quagmire. It is time to take a different road.

[Caller] This is Arkadiy on the line. You said yesterday that democratic newspapers do not print you or support you, but you are yourself sitting in the editorial office of a democratic newspaper today.

[Rutskoy] I love this newspaper. We have all been raised on this newspaper together. Where else should I be but at KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA?

[Caller] This is Lyudmila Viktorovna calling from St. Petersburg. I want to thank you for your statement in the Supreme Soviet on corruption. And I want to know whether members of our government will incur any penalties.

[Rutskoy] Lyudmila Viktorovna, I have no intention of backing down. I have had enough: It is time not to disperse to trade missions and embassies, but to take responsibility in accordance with the law. All the materials have been handed over to the prosecutor's office. [General Prosecutor] Stepankov has also made a statement and clearly said that, despite all the difficulties which the prosecutor's office is experiencing, the questions of corruption and economic crime will be examined.

[Caller] One last question. Do you consider yourself safe after what you said yesterday in the House of the Soviets?

[Rutskoy] I do not scare easily. I have seen a great deal in this world and some things—in the other...

## Zorkin Blames Radicalism for 'Constitutional Crisis'

*LD2204091093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0734 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow April 22—The constitutional crisis is Russia is engendered by radicalism, both right- and left-wing, which seeks to destroy everything, Russian Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin told ITAR-TASS.

Zorkin also spoke about the place of the Constitutional Court within the Russian state system. "We are at the very outset of affirming the primacy of law, so it would be wrong to say that we have already traversed that path. The present crisis conflicts are evidence of this," Zorkin said.

The Constitutional Court favors the settlement of conflicts, once they occur, on the basis of the Constitution. Otherwise Russia is likely to let slip even this weak chance of building a law-governed state.

On the Constitution he said "constitutions are not adopted in ailing societies". The United States, for instance, adopted its Constitution twelve years after the new state was formed. "We have traversed part of the way and adopted a civilized Constitution, even if it does contain contradictions. But "the president's unilateral actions make the parliament redraw it, while the parliament's unilateral actions compel the president to resort to manipulations".

According to Zorkin, "an attempt at presenting an ideal Constitution instead of the unconstitutional Constitution at this time is pure-water radicalism. The Constitution must be achieved through much suffering, it must be accepted".

"The Constitution and the law mean an ability to live in concord," Zorkin stressed. "This is why the (Constitutional) Court said in its appeal to the president and the congress: live in a compromise, i.e. in accordance with the Constitution, because the Constitution is the supreme compromise of interests if you are unable to do so, take a way out through pre-term elections".

## Paper Hails Draft Constitution Announced by Yeltsin

*PM2104134793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 8*

["Editorial Viewpoint" article: "Adoption of New Constitution Is Route to Russia's Democratic Renewal"]

[Text] The draft new constitution announced 14 April by Boris Yeltsin will soon be made public. In the president's assessment, the draft brought together all the constructive points in both the official draft and all the other drafts that have gained recognition in society.

The appearance of this document at a critical time for Russia is a resolute and timely step toward preserving civil peace. It is a major and, maybe, final attempt to consolidate society on the principles of political and economic freedom, respect for human rights, and equal rights for ethnic groups.

Following the Congress of People's Deputies' refusal to submit to the referendum the draft Russian constitutional system that they themselves had approved, the president's initiative is the only possible and civilized way out of the crisis of power.

But the importance of this draft, which promises to become a state and political platform for unification and consensus among all the country's constructive forces, is not limited to the emerging opportunity to put a stop to political strife. For all its legislative content, the new constitution can and should also play an important educational role for millions of Russian citizens. The collapse of Russian statehood and the crumbling of an official philosophy have made people so confused and brought such surrogate "life-saving" ideas to the fore that people who had hitherto known no state or social system other than the Soviet totalitarian empire find it difficult to work out what kind of society we are headed for, and what kind of political and social values this society will espouse. The new constitution will answer those questions with exhaustive thoroughness and clarity.

According to the draft announced by the president, it will be a constitution for human rights and freedoms. It will be a constitution for a full-blown federation all of whose components will enjoy extensive autonomy and sovereign rights. It will be a constitution for developed parliamentarianism with a bicameral setup allowing no room for the Congress and its rally-style debates. It will be a constitution for stable, firm, and effective state power with an efficiently operating executive hierarchy and an independent, full-fledged government. Finally, it will be a constitution for an independent and strong system of justice that is able to oppose arbitrary rule by the authorities, to protect human rights and freedoms, and to ensure the supremacy and indisputability of the law.

As we know, the question of the new constitution has not been put to the referendum. But it is quite obvious that confidence in the president, if so expressed, will also amount to nationwide support for the draft new fundamental law. "When casting your vote in the referendum," Boris Yeltsin said, addressing Russia's citizens, "you will not simply be expressing your attitude toward Russia's constitutional, legal, and democratic future, but also making a real contribution to its creation."

The adoption of the new constitution is not only a way to achieve the social consensus we need so much. It is a civilized route to the democratic renewal of Russia.

## Referendum Issues

### Foreign Observers To Be Invited to Referendum

*LD2104170493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1636 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—Russia decided to invite foreign observers to the crucial nationwide referendum on April 25.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin instructed the Foreign ministry to invite CSCE, UN observers, as well as from the international human rights society and other non-governmental organisations to monitor the plebiscite.

### Constitutional Court Differs on Referendum Ruling

*LD2104165793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1622 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—The Russian Constitutional Court ruled on Wednesday [21 Apr] that the decision on the two first questions of the coming referendum should be adopted by a majority of votes of those who come to the polls. The questions concern the trust to the president and to his economic policy of reform.

Earlier the Congress of Russian People's Deputies ruled that decisions on all the four questions at the referendum should be adopted by a majority of all registered voters, but the court said it did not correspond to articles 4 and 5 of the constitution and to the law on referendum.

Constitutional Judge Vladimir Oleynik disagreed with the statement of the court saying the majority-turnout ballot rules should concern all the four questions at the referendum.

"This is a stand which I occupied and continue to occupy," he told TASS.

Oleynik said the third and the fourth questions do not concern the constitution directly and cannot be decided by a majority of the electorate.

The law on the referendum says that constitutional questions need a majority of the electorate at plebiscites.

Another constitutional judge Boris Ebzeyev disagreed with Oleynik saying that the last two questions may result in legal consequences.

If a decision on early elections is passed, "the congress will be legally obliged to call elections in reasonable time," he told reporters.

The first two questions neither oblige the president to resign nor vest additional powers with him. Even if the president gets 99.9 percent support, this "gives him no additional powers except from those fixed in the constitution and acting Russian legislation. If he fails to win a majority, no legal consequences demanding a resignation or impeachment emerge," Ebzeyev said.

Boris Krylov, a lawyer defending the congress' decision in court, is both satisfied and displeased with the ruling. He is pleased as a lawyer because "the Constitutional Court acted in the framework of its authority and in compliance with the constitution."

But as a citizen Krylov doubts whether the ruling was correct. "A relatively small part of adult population can decide on confidence to the president," he told TASS, explaining that Russians living in emergency areas and Russian military abroad will not be able to take part in the referendum.

### Judge Explains Court Decision on Referendum

*MK2204083893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 1*

[Vera Kuznetsova report: "There Will Be No Early Elections, But Congress May Be Called After the Referendum"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Constitutional Court has recognized as illegitimate the voting procedures established by the Ninth Congress for the first two referendum questions (ruling that the counting of votes should be based on the turnout) and as legitimate for the last two questions. The latter decision makes early elections for president and deputies extremely unlikely.

Ernest Ametistov, one of the Constitutional Court judges, gave exclusive comments to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the Court ruling.

As regards early elections for president and deputies, Ametistov thinks that voting on these questions will be legally binding only if 50 percent of the registered voters plus one say yes. The Supreme Soviet (in this case) would have to call early elections. If the number of votes on both these questions is less than 50 percent plus one, the voting is to be considered invalid.

As for the legal consequences stemming from the first two questions, Ametistov thinks that, should a majority of those coming to the polls say no, the decision arrived at by the referendum is to be considered as having supreme legal force. Be that as it may, in current circumstances the question put to referendum has greater political and moral implications. Ernest Ametistov said: "I do not see any legal consequences stemming from whether this question is answered yes or no. If the referendum gives the president a vote of confidence, it would by no means mean that he gets an unlimited term of office."

## Procuracy Reveals Breaches in Referendum's Legislation

*LD2204132893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr—The Russian General Procuracy revealed some breaches in existing legislation during supervision of the legality of the preparations for holding the all-Russian referendum on 25 April. The Center for Information and Public Relations of the General Procuracy told ITAR-TASS that soviets and small soviets of people's deputies of some oblasts have taken unlawful decisions on submitting questions to the referendum which touched upon changes in the status and the territorial integrity of the subjects of the Federation. The procuracy appealed against these decisions.

Criminal proceedings regarding the discovery of around 200 forms for the referendum in Vladivostok have been instituted and these are now being followed up. At the present time those persons responsible for negligence in publishing, transporting, and keeping them at the polling station are being established. Other breaches were also revealed in which connection Russia's procurator general has demanded of procurators subordinate to him to strengthen the monitoring of the unconditional observation of current referendum legislation.

At the same time, in the run-up to the referendum, the Russian procuracy again reminds people that the law enforcement bodies will resolutely foil any attempts to obstruct the freedom of Russian Federation citizens to exercise the right to participate in the referendum, and to lobby. Those guilty will be held administratively and criminally responsible.

Criminal responsibility is also envisaged with regard to the forgery of referendum documents, the recording of fictitious entries in subscription lists, the knowingly incorrect counting of votes, and the breach of secret voting by officials of state and public bodies and organizations, members of interest groups, or referendum commissions.

Alongside the law enforcement bodies, the duty of which includes ensuring a regime of lawfulness in the conduct of the referendum, monitoring of the observation of the legislation will also be effected by state bodies and organizations charged with doing this by the Russian Constitution. In accordance with Article 4 of the law "On the RSFSR Referendum", representatives of labor collectives, the madd media, political parties, trade unions, and other public organizations and mass movements have the right to take part in carrying out monitoring.

## Yeltsin Directive Limits Referendum Spending

*LD2104114893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1117 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a directive today aimed at preventing uncontrolled spending of the Russian Federation's budget to campaign for the 25 April referendum.

The federal agency of government communications under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation president and the Russian Ministry of Communications have been instructed to monitor the implementation of the directive, the president's press service said.

## Yeltsin Aide Filatov Thinks Early Elections Inevitable

*MK2104102693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 1*

[Vera Kuznetsova report published in "Referendum" column: "'We Are Going to Early Elections'—Predicts Chief of Russian Federation President's Administration"]

[Text] "The final week has begun. ...And three options for the referendum results have been predicted: pessimistic, realistic, and optimistic," Sergey Filatov said yesterday during his meeting with journalists in the Kremlin. The first scenario has 53 percent of the population coming to the polling stations, with 27 percent voting for the president. The second scenario: 61 percent will turn out, with 35.3 percent voting in favor. And the third scenario: a turnout of 70 percent and a 43.2 percent yes vote. Next, everything will depend on the procedure of vote counting. If all the four questions are "counted" according to the referendum law, even the optimistic (according to Filatov) scenario does not appear as such in reality. If the results of the first two questions—on confidence in the president—are assessed according to the law on presidential elections, then the scenario Filatov calls realistic is fairly optimistic as well.

Sergey Filatov himself, however, is far from having "great expectations." Especially when the following facts are cited: 64 percent of soviets at all levels are hostile toward the president; reports from 46 regions say that only 73 percent of polling stations have been equipped. In Kursk and Tula they are preparing to forbid referendum observers from monitoring the polling stations. In Mordovia and Penza democratic forces are paralyzed. In Penza, Filatov said, administration head Aleksandr Kondratyev has been arrested without charges and his apartment has been searched without a warrant. In Chelyabinsk the oblast court ruled the reelection of the administration head illegal—the ruling is final and not subject to appeal. But the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet for its part concluded, disregarding the court, that all this is legal. Sergey Filatov described these as "provocative actions." Among such he also mentioned Rutskoy's statement, "the delivery of which prior to the referendum was no accident," and a phone conference with the regions conducted by leaders of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Nikolay Ryabov and Yuriy Voronin, where the latter proclaimed the slogan that the Supreme Soviet is all for socialism, and the president for capitalism. This ideological maneuver by Voronin was made known by one of the participants in the conference who was ultimately identified (as an outsider) and disconnected from the hookup.

And what does the president have in the provinces amid the "sweet anarchy" and the power of the soviets? According to Filatov he has the support of 80 percent of administration heads, middle-aged citizens, entrepreneurs, state enterprise managers, private farmers, and pensioners in the countryside. As for pensioners in the cities, Yeltsin cannot really count on them, just as he cannot count on employees in the military industrial complex, part of the military, and part of the technical intelligentsia.

All the above can be summed up in Filatov's words: "Judging by the situation, we are moving toward early elections."

And we too are apparently moving that way. The only question is, with what?

The deputies, for instance, will hold a congress after the referendum and decide there who will go to the elections, when and with what. The president's tactics will of course to a considerable extent depend on this. But the general principle is clear already. There are two priorities: preparation for the elections and the adoption of a new constitution. The package of edicts promised by Yeltsin after the referendum also touches on these aspects, Filatov pointed out. The question of adopting the Constitution is the most difficult one. According to Filatov, there are three ways this could be accomplished. The first one is to appeal directly to the people. The second, to bring public pressure to bear on the existing bodies of power. The third is through the assistance of the Federation Council (this option is being debated).

## Election Commission on Referendum Results Schedule

*LD2104191993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The first operational information on the results of the referendum will reach the Central Electoral Commission from constituency commissions in the evening of 26 April, said Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, in an interview with RIA. However, the law requires a period of 10 days to produce the final results. The situation, according to Vasiliy Kazakov, is made more complicated because 203 polling stations have been set up at Russian embassies abroad, at which approximately 100,000 Russian citizens will be voting. The protocol of the tellers commissions will not arrive earlier than 5-6 May.

## Industrial Union Deputies Faction Urges 'No' at Referendum

*MK2104101093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 2*

[Dmitriy Kamin report: "Director Corps Ready To Take Power"]

[Text] In conditions in which it is impossible to predict the results of the all-Russian referendum the [industrial enterprise] director corps wants to find its own way out of the situation, one which, moreover, would address Russia's economic problems. As promised earlier, today KOMMERSANT-DAILY publishes an account of the session of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Industrial Union faction, during which parliamentarians sought to work out tactics for action in the approach to the referendum.

According to the Industrial Union [IU] deputies faction, production decline has placed some branches on the verge of catastrophe. Therefore the director corps no longer sees the president or parliament as guarantor of an early economic stabilization. The industrialists see a way out in the transfer of state property to industrial circles.

In this connection, participants in the 17 April meeting in parliament adopted their decision, calling on the populace to say no to the referendum questions. A major factor that determined the IU's position was that part of the industrialists are affiliated with parliamentary circles who hope that this decision will force Boris Yeltsin to resign, making it at the same time possible to preserve the congress and the deputy corps. Yuriy Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, addressing the meeting, proposed yet another scenario: The Congress will abolish the presidency, depriving Yeltsin of the legal foundations for power.

Speeches by some participants, however, including invited members of the Commodity Producers' Federation, point to the conclusion that the industrialists as a whole are not inclined to give a definitive assessment of the performance of the president and the parliament. In their opinion, both power branches are to blame for the economic crisis. Nonetheless, judging by the results of the meeting, it becomes clear that the IU, in its search for a way out, is not seeking to change the existing political balance between them but is ready to choose in favor of a new president—Yuriy Gekht, the faction's leader, points to Yuriy Skokov in this capacity.

This position differs from the demands of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs—that early elections be held both of the president and the Congress—and also the view held by the All-Russian Conference of Entrepreneurs' Councils, whereby Yeltsin must prepare Russia for the next election of supreme power bodies and then resign, giving way to Grigoriy Yavlinksiy. Political differences, however, are caused not so much by the irreconcilability of the positions of the three main groups of industrialists in Russia as by the different extent to which they are ready to take over the running of the country. While the industrial generals are rallying around Volskiy, already now so sure of their power that they are ready to challenge the president in future elections, the IU prefers to act while relying on parliament. The "nouveaux riches," who do not have enough experience, connections and—the most important—stable authority to ensure the victory of their candidate in the upcoming elections, are linking their political activity in the near term with the president. Given the pace at which the new class of owners is growing and public consciousness changing, however, their political movement has chances for success in the very near future. The latest elections in Kalmykia [won by a self-professed millionaire] confirm this.

**Cooperation among the main political and industrial groups, and their potential candidates for the posts of president and premier.**

The Democratic Russia movement, the deputies' factions Democratic Russia and Radical Democrats work with the Association of Privatized and Private Enterprises and support President Boris Yeltsin and Yegor Gaydar as candidate for prime minister.

Political Entrepreneurial Initiative and the deputies' faction Accord for Progress work with Entrepreneurs for a New Russia and support Sergey Shakhray as candidate for the presidency and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy as candidate for prime minister.

The Civic Union coalition, and the deputies' bloc Democratic Center work with the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and support Arkadiy Volskiy or Aleksandr Rutskoy as presidential candidates and Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin for prime minister.

The deputies faction Industrial Union works with the Federation of Commodity Producers and supports Yuriy Skokov as presidential candidate and Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin as prime minister.

## Journalists Confident of Yeltsin Victory

*MK2104135493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 2*

[Svetlana Lyuboshits report: "Who Will Support the President?"]

[Text] This time the All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion has asked 341 Moscow-based journalists about the upcoming referendum.

Around one-fourth of all the journalists polled, including both Russian and foreign ones, believe that less than one-half of all the registered voters will turn out for the referendum. The majority, however, insisted that from 50 to 60 percent of the voters would participate in the voting.

A total of 80 percent of the journalists polled hold the view that the majority of those who turn out for the vote will support Yeltsin. Only 25 percent of those polled believe that the voters will give their backing to the social and economic policies pursued by the president and his government. Twenty-six percent of Russian journalists and 56 percent of foreign ones are of the opinion that the public will vote for early presidential elections. Around 60 percent of the journalists believe that Boris Yeltsin will win the early elections, and 90 percent of those polled say that new elections of the parliament and the congress are inevitable.

When asked: "Is a military or any other kind of authoritarian coup possible in Russia this year?," 30 percent of Russian journalists and 20 percent of foreigners answered "Yes."

The All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion believes that unless any serious political upheavals occur in Russia in the days leading up to the referendum, the results of the poll and the referendum will be close.

## Parties' Stances on Referendum Questions Viewed

*MK2104134693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 11*

[Yevgeniy Yanayev report: "Parties on the Eve of the Referendum. Political Parties Draw Battle Lines on Referendum Questions"]

[Text] With four days to go before the referendum, most Russian political parties have finally defined their stances on its main questions. The democrats support Boris Yeltsin, his social and economic policies, and demand that early elections of the entire deputy corps be held, but, unlike Yeltsin, who calls for "four yeses," they campaign against early presidential elections. The leaders of the centrists have opted not to take a stand on the president and his policies, but insist that early elections of both the president and the parliament be held. The opposition parties and movements declare their no-confidence in Boris Yeltsin and his policies and demand that early elections of a new president be conducted.

At present, it is the supporters of the Democratic Russia movement and a number of small democratic parties and organizations (the Economic Freedom Party, the "Human Chain" [Zhivoye Koltso] movement, the People's Patriotic Party, and so forth) who continue to profess unfailing loyalty to Boris Yeltsin. Most democrats even proved to be greater "Yeltsinists" than Yeltsin himself is—ignoring his request for "four yeses," they argue against early presidential elections.

The viewpoint held by the Civic Union centrist coalition (including the People's Party-"Free Russia," the Democratic Party of Russia, and the Renewal union) is in fact similar to that of Russian Parliament chief Ruslan Khasbulatov. The centrists (along with Khasbulatov), while calling for early elections (of both the president and the deputies) to be held as soon as possible, refuse to define officially their attitude to Yeltsin and the social and economic policies he and his government are conducting. Leaders of Civic Union cite as a reason for this decision the fact that "the first two questions have more of a moral than legal significance." Most Civic Union leaders, however (except, maybe, Arkadiy Volskiy), say privately that if the Russian president does not make any substantial concessions in the next few days, they personally will say "no" when answering the first and second questions.

To all appearances, the lack of a joint position regarding the first two questions on the part of Civic Union can be explained not only by moral and legal grounds, not only by the hope that "they may in the end manage to persuade Boris Nikolayevich," but also by the apprehensions that a hard-line anti-presidential stance taken by the centrist bloc may cause a split among the centrists. According to unofficial, but entirely reliable reports from Civic Union experts, around one-third of the regional branches of the Democratic Party of Russia and several organizations of the People's Party-"Free Russia" argue for confidence in the Russian president.

It is evidently for precisely these reasons that the Civic Union is keeping a generally low profile on the eve of the referendum. Unlike the democrats and the opposition, the centrist bloc has expressed its attitude to the questions of the referendum at a simple press conference and decided against launching an agitation campaign using rallies or leaflets.

The Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions, which has concluded a cooperation agreement with Civic Union as it calls for early elections of the president and parliament, states its no-confidence in the social and economic policies pursued by the president and his government. However, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions also preferred not to define its stance on the first question (on confidence in the president) of the referendum.

Only the Smena deputies faction out of the entire Civic Union has been hewing to an openly anti-presidential line—it issued a leaflet saying: "If you want to end this mess, cast your votes: "No," "No," "Yes," "Yes." It is noteworthy that back at the Eighth and Ninth Congresses of People's Deputies the Smena deputies, judging from the results of the voting, had joined forces with the Russian Unity opposition parliamentary bloc.

A similar position is held by the majority of the opposition parties and movements: the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, the Russian National Union, the Constitutional Democratic Party, and also the Liberal Democratic Party. It is only the last question on the list (on whether the incumbent deputy corps should be reelected) that causes some differences of opinion. A number of the opposition parties and unions (primarily of the Communist persuasion, for instance the Russian Communist Workers' Party) argue against early elections, giving the following reason: "The incumbent Russian deputies should themselves make good their mistakes."

## Results of Express Poll of Muscovites on Referendum

*LD2104214793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2020 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Report by Pavel Ogorodnikov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A few minutes before going on the air we received data of the All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion which has held an express poll of Muscovites.

Fifty-eight percent intend to state their support for the president at the forthcoming referendum; 15 percent will vote against.

Sixty-eight percent advocate early elections of people's deputies, while 26 percent of Muscovites intend to vote in favor of the re-election of the president. However, 56 percent are against this.

The government's course is approved by 47 percent; 32 percent of Muscovites do not approve.

## Opinion Poll Results on Referendum Analyzed

*OW2104142293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[From the "Utro" program; presented by S. Lomakin]

[Text] As we have been doing every half an hour, that is, acquainting you with a poll from the Public Opinion Fund with whom we collaborate, the Public Opinion Fund on this occasion decided to poll their respondents on all four referendum questions, and this is the picture it received.

Do you trust Boris Yeltsin, the President of the Russian Federation? Yes—53 Percent, No—30 percent, and Difficulty in answering—17 percent.

The second referendum question: Do you approve of the social and economic policy being carried out by the president and the government of the Russian Federation since 1992? Yes—39 percent, No—38 percent, and Difficulty in answering—23 percent.

This is what is interesting. I would first like to draw your attention to the second question, because this is one of the principal questions of the whole referendum. If it is examined from the viewpoint of the struggle for the right of the president and the government to carry out an independent policy—to carry out reforms as he deems necessary—then it can be understood that if it were not for this question, the deputies obviously would not require the referendum at all.

This question has been put extremely mischievously, and this was done quite consciously by the deputies to confuse the people. The picture that can be formed from this is that not every one can dissect the components and the essence of this question precisely. Alas, the Public Opinion Fund makes a rather sad forecast if the precise question, and all that is hidden behind it, is not clarified for the people: neither version of the answer—that is, neither "yes" nor "no"—will receive the necessary number of votes, and we will have some kind of a muddle. That is why I think the main problem for all the mass media and the people—who by the way will appear on the program—will be to clarify the complete chicanery in the putting of this question, so that people will know precisely how to answer. It is up to you whether to believe the question, because each one of you will be answering the questions presented, but nevertheless everyone is simply obligated to understand what is behind these questions. [Commentary interrupted for other segments of the program then continues]

Half an hour ago I gave you the results of the first two referendum questions, and now I will comment on the second two, the third and fourth questions.

Do you consider it necessary to hold early elections for the president of the Russian Federation? Yes—32 percent, No—53 percent, and Difficulty in answering—16 percent.

It is interesting to note here the absolutely identical number of votes for the first question on trust in the president to which 53 percent answered yes, and those who answered no in the third question, considering it unnecessary to re-elect the president, which was also 53 percent. Even considering the generosity of the president who called for a "yes" answer to all four questions, one can suppose that supporters of the president will exercise their own opinions and aspirations, and in all probability the number of votes in the referendum answering "yes" to the first question and "no" to the third question, will coincide.

The fourth referendum question: Do you consider it necessary to hold early elections for the people's deputies of the Russian Federation? Well here, as they say, is the crux of the matter! Yes—63 percent, No—21 percent, and Difficulty in answering—16 percent.

This is the interesting thing. Having given the citizens of Russia the opportunity to answer the question of whether early elections for the deputies are necessary, I think the lawmakers have signed their own death warrant. Because the supporters of the president, faced with the situation, will vote for the necessity for re-election of the people's deputies, and one need not even doubt that. But the interesting thing is that their number increased immediately by 10 percent at the cost of the president's opponents, and that was unexpected. So it can be supposed that the fourth question is practically decided and the fate of the deputies, and I think the congress, is predetermined. [Commentary interrupted for other segments of the program then continues]

I think that a lot of this concerns people who are directly tied in with the referendum, but will be not considered in the questions of the referendum. Specifically, the Public Opinion Fund put the question to their respondents on two state figures.

To what extent do you personally trust A. Rutskoy, the vice president of Russia? Do not trust to any extent—37 percent, Trust and distrust to an equal extent—18 percent, Trust to any extent—21 percent, and Difficulty in answering—21 percent.

It is interesting to note that Vice President Rutskoy's level of popularity attests to two things: First, it proves that the crisis of trust has touched all political figures, and second, it confirms that the vice president still remains, as previously, a sufficiently popular man, a sufficiently popular personality. However, I must warn that the public opinion poll was taken before Vice President Rutskoy's speech at the Supreme Soviet. So, the given data is somewhat aged; it was taken this week, but at the beginning of the week.

The next question: To what extent do you personally trust V. Zorkin, chairman of the Constitutional Court of Russia? Do not trust to any extent—36 percent, Trust and distrust to an equal extent—17 percent, Trust to any extent—20 percent, and Difficulty in answering—30 percent.

This is also an interesting result. The recorded attitude of citizens to the chairman of the Constitutional Court and to the establishment also attests to many problems, primarily of a political nature. That is, on the one hand the crisis of trust it seems has touched even this institution, the Constitutional Court and its chairman. On the other hand, it is interesting that this state body, recognized to be the highest state arbitrator between the two branches of authority, nevertheless compromised itself in the eyes of citizens in the last week to one month, as a result of which the prestige and rating of this political figure is falling.

### Kotenkov Interviewed on Legal Aspects of Referendum

*PM2204101193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 5*

[Interview with A.A. Kotenkov, chief of State-Legal Administration under Russian Federation president, by Vasiliy Kononenko; place and date not given: "Aleksandr Kotenkov: President Has Legal Means To Realize People's Will After Referendum"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Are there any guarantees that even after 25 April, when the votes on the papers have been counted, we will not find ourselves in the same situation of uncertainty as now? For example, the president will calculate his "balance" according to the Law on the Referendum, while the Congress will do so according to its own decree, and the arithmetic will, of course, prove cardinally different. Or, let us say, the president has received support, but the Congress declares the results of the vote to be merely "useful information" with no legal consequences. Such a situation cannot be ruled out, if you recall the recent Congresses of People's Deputies, at which the rules of play changed with staggering ease in favor of the holders of mandates. Therefore IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked A. Kotenkov, chief of the State-Legal Administration under the Russian Federation president, for an explanation. Unfortunately, the said fears were confirmed. Although Aleksandr Alekseyevich began the conversation with no less alarming facts about the illegality of the decisions of the Central Electoral Commission and the Supreme Soviet Presidium with regard to allowing various categories of citizens to vote.

[Kotenkov] The question of who has the right to participate in the referendum is not rhetorical, since a failure to comply with all its legal foundations could lead to the voting results being declared invalid, with far-reaching consequences. It is only at first sight that everything appears simple: All citizens of Russia who have the right to vote may participate in elections or a referendum. V. Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, declared at a recent news conference, however, that all refugees and enforced settlers who are in Russia as illegitimate migrants may also come to the referendum.

But they cannot possess the right to vote. The Law on the Referendum proposes that this right is given only to citizens of Russia, and precisely to those who were resident on its territory at the time the Law on Citizenship was adopted. This, as is known, was adopted in 1991. As regards citizens who came to the Russian Federation later or who have citizenship of other countries, the law states that citizens wishing to take Russian citizenship must lodge corresponding applications within a year of its adoption. The deadline envisaged for this procedure expired last year, and those who wished to become a citizen of Russia have become one. Those who have not done so remain refugees or citizens of other countries and do not have the right to vote, as stated in the Law on the Referendum.

Or let us take another important question: Can all Russians who live outside Russia, above all in the CIS countries, and who consider themselves Russian participate in the referendum? The Central Electoral Commission considers this possible, with approximately 25 million ethnic Russians in mind. It is proposed that they can cast their votes in polling places opened in Russian diplomatic establishments. Again there is no such norm in legislation. The only people who may vote in these places are employees of Russian establishments and organizations operating in the corresponding country, as well as citizens of Russia on an official trip and those local residents who have become citizens of Russia in accordance with the Law on Citizenship. For all the rest the law provides for a corresponding period—three years—so that people are able to decide for themselves of which state they wish to be a citizen.

On the other hand, it is totally unconstitutional the way servicemen who are citizens of the Russian Federation serving outside its territory have been denied the right to participate in the referendum. This is a direct violation of human rights. And we are talking of several hundred thousand people! This decision was adopted by the Supreme Soviet Presidium at the behest of the Ministry of Defense and the Central Electoral Commission. The military attributes its position to fears that tension could arise in units on interethnic grounds. There is no logic here. If a Russian serving in a subunit stationed in Moldova or Tajikistan votes, while his fellow servicemen—a Moldovan or a Tajik—do not, where are the grounds for conflict here?

The State-Legal Administration has made corresponding representations to the president with regard to all the enumerated violations of legislation concerning the holding of a referendum.

Now about the chief thing—the possible consequences of the results of the 25 April vote.

The first two questions—on confidence in the president and on his socioeconomic policy—have no legal consequences. If, for example, a majority of Russians say "yes" to the question "Do you trust the president?" then the president will know that the people support him. And vice versa. All because the existing legislation does not make provision for any legal consequences arising from a vote of confidence or no confidence in the president. Apart, of course, from his moral obligations, since he said that he would resign if the people did not support him. Although, at the same time, if there is a positive reply to the question of an early presidential election, he has the right to remain in his post until the reelection. The replies to the second referendum question should also be assessed in the same way.

A quite different interpretation should be made of the replies to the third and fourth questions: on early elections of the president and the corps of deputies. Here legal consequences must ensue without delay. The result—a majority of "yeses" to the third or fourth question will mean the holding of early elections.

Here we have approached the key problem—how to count the votes? The Law on the Referendum proposes counting a majority of those who come to vote, while the decree of the Ninth Congress proposes counting a majority of all Russians who have the right to vote (the so-called list composition). According to all parameters, the second option cannot be considered constitutional. The norms of the Law on the Referendum operate. They were involuntarily confirmed by the Supreme Soviet, since the attempt to make amendments to this law in accordance with the Congress decree failed.

At the same time the president's promise to issue an edict in this regard is not a vital necessity. Thus, the president can merely confirm with his edict the existence of a legal norm for the counting of votes. But as regards not a legal but a moral assessment of the Congress' actions, this is—forgive me—jesuitry. The decree lays down a deliberately unattainable norm—no less than 72 percent of those who participate in the vote (based on a forecast that approximately 53 percent of the electorate will come to vote), and such an unattainable level must also be reached in order to reelect the corps of deputies. The Congress thereby ensures in advance the president's defeat in the referendum and insures itself against defeat by means of such arithmetic.

[Kononenko] Aleksandr Alekseyevich, it cannot be ruled out, can it, that the referendum results, if they prove to be not in the deputies' favor, will be ignored (the Congress is, with reason, the "head" of everything and can do anything)? Or will they be assessed according to the Congress decree? Or will the elections be scheduled for the fall of 1994, as the speaker of parliament has already said? What are the president's possible actions capable of realizing the people's will?

[Kotenkov] Such a situation would entail terrible consequences: clashes between ideological opponents everywhere, escalating into a total all-Russian conflagration. All the branches of power must be aware of this—the Constitutional Court above all. Today it is dependent only on the representative power, and so it displays loyalty to it. But, faced with the threat of civil war, the judges must be responsible, above all, for Russia's fate and, in the end, conscience must prevail.

[Kononenko] And yet, let us assume a hypothetical situation—the Constitutional Court stays silent, while events develop according to an explosive scenario.

The president is in possession of corresponding legal studies in this regard, but I do not have the right to reveal them. I am convinced, however, that the president must, above all, announce the holding of a parliamentary reelection no later than the fall of 1993. The new constitution, whose composite draft is practically ready for discussion locally, is to have been adopted by then. Its chief merit is that none of the branches of power can alter it on its own, as we see being done today. Either it must be adopted by means of a nationwide referendum—at any rate, its main provisions. There must be a rigid mechanism for making changes to it. For example, two-thirds of the votes in each chamber of parliament and ratification of this decision by the components of the federation.

Or else it must be adopted by a Constitutional Assembly specially convened for this purpose, which will cease to exist after the work has been done. Both options have been tested in world practice. This is a guarantee of protection against the powers' arbitrariness and of the Constitutional Court's independence and a precondition for stability in the country.

[Kononenko] Forgive my persistence, but what are the actual mechanisms for realizing the people's will in this, extreme case?

[Kotenkov] In the event of the Congress' placing itself above the people and usurping the people's supreme power, it is perfectly logical and necessary for the president to respond with a regime of ignoring decisions of the representative power, to use for these purposes all the potential of state organs, and to secure the implementation of the people's will.

[Kononenko] Two more practical questions. It cannot be ruled out that many voters will not wish to sacrifice their day off 25 April. Is there any possibility of their voting in advance?

[Kotenkov] Yes, the Law on the Referendum permits such a procedure. Anyone can go to the polling place, ask for a ballot, make a mark on it, seal it in an envelope, and authenticate it with his signature and with that of a representative of the electoral commission. The envelope will be opened on polling day. A voter can appeal in court against a refusal to grant him this right.

[Kononenko] There have already been reports of the referendum preparations being blocked. What provision is there for liability in such cases?

[Kotenkov] If such a fact is brought to light somewhere, criminal proceedings can and will be instituted against the specific guilty persons.

### Units in Transcaucasus Not To Vote in Referendum

*LD1704084793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 16 Apr 93*

[Report by Nikolay Mamulashvili of the IPRINDA news agency from Tbilisi]

[Text] On 15 April, the press center for the Russian group of forces stationed in the Transcaucasus distributed a statement that in accordance with a resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation of 12 April 1993 on organizational measures to enable Russian citizens abroad to participate in the all-Russian referendum, it is deemed inexpedient to carry out voting in military units and combined units of Russia's Armed Forces stationed outside Russia.

At the press center for the group of forces, we were told that this information was received on 14 April and was signed by Deputy Defense Minister Kolesnikov. Remember that Russian Ambassador to Georgia Vladimir Zemskiy said in a talk with us on 14 April that in accordance with an order received from Moscow, a special commission to prepare for carrying out the Russian referendum on 25 April had been set up for embassy staff and Russian citizens who would be in Georgia during the referendum but who want to participate. He also emphasized that in the republic three coordinating centers for the referendum will be operating on 25 April: one in the Russian Embassy, one at the group of forces' headquarters, and one at the headquarters of the Russian border guards stationed in Georgia. On 15 April, the ambassador announced that the decision that Russian servicemen on Georgian territory will not participate in the referendum came as a total surprise to him. It is difficult for me to pass judgment on the adoption of this decision from Tbilisi, he said. But Colonel (Vasiliy Panchenko), the former chairman of the commission for carrying out the referendum in the Russian group of forces in Georgia, has now already pointed out in a conversation with us that in accordance with the notification received from Moscow, 18,000 servicemen from the Transcaucasian group of forces along with their families will most likely not have the chance to participate in the referendum on 25 April.

### Estonian Russians To Vote on Referendum in Russia

*PM2004095193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 5*

[Report by correspondent G. Sapozhnikov: "Abroad for Referendum"]

[Text] Tallinn—Estonia's Russian inhabitants who have confirmed their Russian citizenship intend to take part in the forthcoming referendum. Right now 30,000 Russian citizens have been registered in Estonia and of these 10,000 are living in a concentrated community in Narva. The Russian Embassy in Tallinn intends to organize three polling stations for referendum day. But the Estonian authorities have refused to allow a poll in Narva. So on 25 April 10,000 Russian inhabitants of Narva will file out together to vote in neighboring Ivangorod, which is on the Russian side of the border.

Observations show that Russian citizenship has been confirmed by the most patriotic (in the good sense of the word) and most aggrieved people. The remaining 500,000 non-Estonians deprived of Estonian citizenship by force of circumstances are for the time being simply "nobodies." So it is hard to predict the result of the poll in Estonia. Already there are reports in newspapers that the majority of Narva's Russian inhabitants intend to express lack of confidence in Yeltsin for abandoning the Russian population of the Baltic republics to its fate.

## Economic Issues

### Yavlinskiy: Government Inconsistent in Pursuing Reforms

*MK2104142093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 2*

[Indira Dunayeva report published in "Expert Appraisal" column: "The Results of February Monetary Emission Will Tell in May. According to Yavlinskiy, it Exceeded 350 Billion Rubles"]

[Text] Grigoriy Yavlinksiy, Boris Pinsker, Larisa Piyasheva, and other economists were invited as experts to the 19 April joint session of the leadership of the Russian Constituent Union [RCU] and the Free Democratic Party of Russia [FDPR].

RCU leader Marina Salye asked them only one question: What have Boris Yeltsin and the Russian Supreme Soviet done for democracy in the country? The majority agreed with Yavlinskiy's answer: "They have preserved, in some form or other, a free press, a multiparty system, and the idea of choosing leadership via elections. They cannot develop democracy but they have more or less ensured its preservation."

According to Piyasheva, the people have been given "political democracy" and what is now left to do is also to give them "economic democracy," comprising corresponding legislation and private ownership. Just like Yavlinskiy, Piyasheva believes that the present rulers are fulfilling their historic mission—the mission of guardians.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy was skeptical about the possible results of the upcoming referendum: "The future of Russia does not depend on "no-no" or "yes-yes." The country's development at present and in the near future is conditioned by two powerful factors: inflation and political disintegration, which leads to economic decentralization. To fight inflation it is necessary to have such a political situation where it is possible to bang one's fist on the table and say: "Monetary emissions? No! Credits? No!" According to Yavlinskiy, monetary emissions in February amounted to 350.9 billion rubles, and the results will tell in the May-June time frame in the form of declining living standards for the Russian people. The main mistake of the government, in his opinion, has been failure to implement the reforms consistently: "There are three mandatory elements: structural-institutional changes, liberal reforms, and financial stabilization. They must be observed in this order, not in reverse. Otherwise the reforms will be thwarted. For some unknown reason we started at the end and thus we have not made any substantial progress in any of these areas."

As for the session itself, its participants declared their support for the president: "We regard the institution of the presidency as the sole legitimate institution of authority in Russia, as a guarantee against the absolute dictatorship of the Congress of People's Deputies."

The RCU and the FDPR, however, support Yeltsin on condition that in 1993 an all-Russian constituent assembly be called and elections held in all branches of government in accordance with the new constitution and a new election law (which must also be adopted by the Constituent Assembly).

## Rutskoy's Record on Leading Agriculture Attacked

*PM2104150993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 8*

[Unattributed report: "Countryside Can Manage Perfectly Without the General"]

[Text] The Russian president has announced his intention to relieve the vice president of his job of dealing with agriculture's problems. This virtually coincided with the appearance of another article by A. Rutskoy entitled "Will the Countryside Survive?" He was allegedly summing up the results of his year's work in charge of land reform, which would have been entirely understandable in the prevailing situation. But, instead, he concentrated completely on sharply criticizing the government, which, in his view, has done everything wrong. Only once did he slip up: "I realize that people might rebuke me, saying 'You are the vice president!' Yes, I am. But I have virtually no rights or powers, and probably have just one right—the right of conscience. And it is because I actively exercise this sole right of mine that I am constantly the object of mudslinging because of my views and convictions..."

But the point is that A. Rutskoy has managed to set out his views and convictions about agriculture quite extensively, even publishing a book. Examples of his "active exercise" of his "sole right" are well-known too. Private peasants still tremble at the thought of the vice president's famous telegram last year, which became the pretext for an attack on private farming and backtracking on land reform. And the vice president's creation of the Federal Center for Agrarian Reform as an alternative to the Ministry of Agriculture has brought nothing but additional confusion to the running of agriculture, and complicated the elaboration of agrarian policy. And what about his large-scale projects for creating state-commercial structures—new monopolistic monsters which could enslave the peasantry once again and deprive it of access to investment! These actions, or attempted actions, cannot even be called controversial. Because they have been resolutely protested by private farmers, met with no sympathy from the reforming collective farming sector, and had no support from serious agrarian science.

But is the vice president really so conceited as to believe that after single year's familiarization, he really has a better understanding of it than anyone else in the country and knows how to solve the problems of agriculture? This is probably not so much a question of agrarian science as it is of the political ambitions of A. Rutskoy himself and those who intend to use him in a struggle against the president, the government, and reform.

And the countryside does indeed have many problems today. But this is another matter, which has little to do with the political biography and prospects of the current Russian federation vice president.

## Rutskoy Data on Size of Shadow Economy Challenged

*PM2104151993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Mikhail Berger: "Shadow Economy: Statisticians Do Not Know the Full Extent of It As Yet"]

[Text] One of the many staggering figures in the vice president's speech concerned the extent of the shadow economy. "According to specialists," Aleksandr Rutskoy said, "in 1992 alone the shadow economy's income, taking price rises into account, was 3-3.5 trillion rubles [R]... Organized crime structures control about 40 percent of GNP production in Russia..."

It is an indisputable fact that the shadow economy has existed and still exists in our country and it is growing. But how big is it exactly? Unfortunately, the vice president did not name the organization or the specialists whose assessment he made public. One would like to put just one question to these anonymous specialists: How do they estimate the shadow economy's income and by what methods do they determine the proportion of the GNP controlled by organized crime?

It is by no means an idle question, since specialists from the State Committee for Statistics (under the Supreme Soviet, incidentally) and, in particular, administration chief Yevgeniy Zharkov claim that there is no reliable method at all at the moment of estimating the size of the shadow economy. Devising one is a complex scientific task which is being worked on at the moment. What does the shadow economy actually comprise—just criminal business activity or any activities that avoid taxation? They are different phenomena, you will agree.

Given that, statisticians believe, you could name any figure as representing the shadow economy's income—it is impossible at the moment either to confirm or to deny it by persuasive argument.

So in this case we are dealing with popular journalism rather than scientific or practical data.

## Sources Challenge Rutskoy Claims on Aid Embezzlement

*PM2104152793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Aleksey Portanskiy: "No Expert Confirmation of Rutskoy's Data on Squandering of Humanitarian Aid"]

[Text] One of the sensational exposes made Friday [16 April] by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy concerned the program of humanitarian aid coming to us from abroad. The speaker claimed that the aid was being "funneled nicely into commercial kiosks," as a result of which "40 million rubles [R], at the most conservative estimates, had been pumped into speculators' pockets."

Where did that figure come from? I put the question to V. Krasnov, chief of the vice president's secretariat, back in March, after Rutskoy had made it public for the first time. There was no clear reply: "They are expert figures supplied by departments monitoring the state of affairs in that sphere," Krasnov said, refusing to specify what departments he was talking about.

As G. Maltsin, senior official at the Russian International Cooperation and Development Agency, told IZVESTIYA, there is no justification for the figure.

Major losses and thefts could only occur in the case of individual shipments, for example, from a private individual or organization, Maltsin explained, but not in the case of state deliveries, and certainly not affecting the sum total of humanitarian aid. Colonel N. Petrov, head of the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry's working group to monitor humanitarian aid, said the same, almost word for word, in reply to my questions. As is known, some citizens have handed over free food to commercial stores to get money. But that is their business and has nothing to do with any leakage of food onto the black market. But it is useful to know something else: Commercial organizations get the bulk of the specially marked or packaged food items (from military stocks, for example) not from the population at all, and this has actually been verified, in particular by Moscow students. Anyone, including the people at the top, can similarly verify this.

## Government Paper Hits Rutskoy Address to Deputies

*PM2104121193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Apr 93 pp 1, 7*

[Nikita Vaynonen report: "Rutskoy's Move—Or Where To Get Hold of Eleven Suitcases of Refutations"]

[Excerpts] The vice president's address to deputies, shown at their decision to the entire country 17 April, prompted much comment. It is without doubt the event of the week and an extremely unpleasant event. It will, of course, be forgotten by 25 April, but it is almost certain that new surprises are in store. I will not venture to contest the speech in its entirety. I do not have 11 suitcases of refutations. And even if I did, I would not do this. For the simple reason that, in this instance, however strange it may seem, the problem lies not in the facts. It goes without saying that they can and must be investigated by the court and the court alone. The problem lies in their selection, presentation, and interpretation, themselves determined by the aims of the speech. Let's listen to the speaker: "On my proposal, in order to analyze the approaching danger and to avert a wave of ransacking of the country, 20 August 1991 (we all remember this date—RV) a committee to defend the economic interests of the Russian Federation was set up by the president of Russia. Edict No. 66. At that time, it was still possible to head off the situation, but the committee was not even formalized over the course of a whole year thanks to the opposition of Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shokhin, and Gennadiy Eduardovich Burbulis."

Rutskoy recited a detailed calendar of the infuriating red tape and disarray which destroyed this and other committees and commissions, naming in passing many more famous and not-so-famous "officials, and representatives of the executive power."

So what had they been up to? A minor victory might have been claimed had the accusation consisted only in the fact of their being a "groundswell of crime" threatening to "destroy the fundamental pillars of the state," and which is allegedly the "direct consequence of the chosen path of 'shock therapy'." But no, their guilt is not implicit, but direct! It is by them that "everything is done to prevent the committee from coming into being," and this is "premeditated (!) bureaucratic sabotage." No evidence of such a scheme is cited, it is enough that the speaker has no doubt about it: "...maybe the government wants to go further in preparing the ground in a manner favorable to the ransacking of the country?" The question is purely rhetorical, because then it is stated that "the fierce campaign by many of the people I have listed in support of the referendum is no coincidence: They passionately desire to triumph with one aim—to legalize once and for all the mafiosi-state machine with nobody being any the wiser." [passage omitted]

There is much which forces mistrust in the highly unrestrained, intentionally hair-raising conclusions of Rutskoy. For instance, he proposes to compare the cost of the national wealth exported abroad last year with the monetary expression of the country's GNP. But according to his evaluations, these sums turn out to be equal—we exported our entire national product. There is just one thing that does not quite add up—what did we live on for the whole of last year?

Deputy Filippov asked Rutskoy: It may well be that state property is being siphoned off into the accounts of elitist private firms, but how can this be avoided? By destroying private firms so that there is nothing into which to siphon this property, or by giving citizens the chance to become owners of state property?

By way of an answer came the already odious example of how "sackfuls of vouchers" were brought into Chelyabinsk and efforts were made to "wrest the metallurgical combine from the labor collective, from the people of Russia." But most importantly: "You will see just who brought in these vouchers!" But the speaker did not say who it was. Criminals? So why is it that as chairman of the Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption A.V. Rutskoy did not then take them to court? Honest people? How, then, can a high-ranking functionary vent on them his hostility toward privatization from an all-Russian platform?

Of course, it would be better to secure the conditions for the strictest compliance with the law so as to harness every force to accelerate the creation of a rule-of-law state. But is this realistic, when all the legislators' deeds and proposals are subjected to a power struggle? Instead of seriously looking into the deficiencies in the legislation and in the mechanism for executing the law, they allow voucher speculators to operate with impunity (if it is to be believed that something is in fact being violated here), and the deputies welcome this crime news with unconcealed joy: Aha, there they are—the rotten fruits of a rotten privatization! Enough is enough! [passage omitted]

For all our excesses, Russia is not yet a madhouse. The state's No. Two is putting forward his own accusations for the whole country, the whole world. If it is serious, let him prove the truth of his words or bear responsibility for the slander. If it is some kind of political game (and surely it must be)...well then, we will experience yet again a burning shame in respect of a fatherland in which it is possible for such people to accede to power.

The "opposition" used Rutskoy cynically and skillfully. It was distasteful to watch how, with obvious satisfaction, he took the complements of such arch-tricksters as Chelnokov as testimony to his own correctness. And the tricksters did not conceal their joy: Up until now, they did not have a mascot for the big games which was firmly "their own." You will not get far with Khasbulatov, nor will you get far with Zyuganov, or more especially Baburin. Now there is such a mascot. What is more, they know very well how to play this simple instrument. There is no doubt that Rutskoy's move scored points for them. They tried to bury the president and the reforms under a huge mudslide. Nevertheless, the effect was not that of an exploding bomb but rather of a garbage dump defrosting in the spring.

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### Rutskoy Aide Cited on Agricultural Problems

*PM2104151193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 4*

[Report from roundup of INTERFAX, RIA, NOVOSTI, and KOMMERSANT DAILY reports under general heading: "Agriculture in Brief"]

[Text] "So far there have been no positive changes in Russia's agrarian sector," stated Nikolay Radugin, an aide to the Russian vice president.

He is convinced that the reform of the agrarian sector is being implemented without an analysis of its consequences and the process of privatization in the agrarian sector has only aggravated the crisis of agricultural production and led to the complete uncontrollability of the agro-industrial complex. At the same time the Russian Government has still not examined the program of agrarian reforms prepared on instructions from A. Rutskoy and submitted to the government in January 1993. This program, in his opinion, could be the basis for the reform of the Russian countryside and would help to overcome the agricultural production crisis. The vice president's aide is sure that the country will be able to restore its previous level at best by the year 2000.

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### Economist: Yeltsin Needs 'Miracle' To Win Referendum

*MK2004134493 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 1*

[Interview with economist Pavel Bunich by T. Pomelova; date and place not given: "Pavel Bunich: 'Economy Would Work Better Without Politics'"]

[Text] [Pomelova] Pavel Grigoryevich, have you decided? Are you going to the referendum or not?

[Bunich] I am. There is the concept of civic duty, and I follow it.

[Pomelova] Is it possible to forecast today what the result will be?

[Bunich] It is extremely difficult to do that. I would even say that it would take a "miracle" for the referendum to take place according to the scenario and with the result expected by the president. First, the people have to come and vote. Second, they have to vote in support of Yeltsin and his policy. Furthermore, the methods of counting votes on the "Congress" and "presidential" questions must not differ.

[Pomelova] If a miracle nonetheless takes place and Yeltsin obtains his much desired support, will he be able to take full advantage of it?

[Bunich] A positive result will give him the moral right to pursue a tougher policy, although nobody has prevented such a policy from being pursued previously.

On the other hand, even if Yeltsin does decide to "get tough," it is hardly likely to affect appreciably the behavior of, for instance, the Congress: After all, it will not be subject to reformation before a new constitution has been adopted, and that means that endless sessions and debate will start all over again.

Even now the Supreme Soviet has no time to consider economic laws. The laws are just lying around and getting old, but essentially they were obsolete right from the start. Likewise, the executive branch has no time to deal with the economy.

At the same time, everybody—the Supreme Soviet, the president, the government—is making advances toward the people.

[Pomelova] Nevertheless, in recent speeches Yeltsin has stated that a new economic concept exists, that it has been elaborated...

[Bunich] I did not notice a new economic concept in what the president was proposing. I even doubt whether it is necessary at all. Actually, everything of importance has already been said, when we were preparing to correct Gaydar's policy. But nothing has been done to this day, everything is going on in the old way.

[Pomelova] All this does not inspire optimism. And the prospects, both political and economic, look extremely uncertain. Does Russia have a chance of getting out of the crisis? And what is the solution?

[Bunich] America and Russia have agreed. Germany has managed to reunite itself. Can the conflicts between the authorities really be so hopelessly severe that it is impossible to agree here?

If we detach ourselves from the current political psychosis and analyze the positions with a cool head, it turns out that they are not as far apart as is imagined. Especially in the sphere of the economy.

The economy may be bad now, but it is working. It would work even better without politics. I dream of something that is impossible to make come true: that we could go back three congresses. And that we could end up at the time when the president and parliament squabbled with each other comparatively peacefully. And that this would continue until their terms of office expired.

### Yeltsin Decree Protects Employment Rights

*LD2204001793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1629 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today issued a decree on supplementary measures to protect the employment rights of the Russian Federation's citizens. A press release by the head of state's press service says that the decree envisages that permissible levels of unemployment in 1993 be set for specific regions for the purpose of providing social support for the unemployed and for preserving jobs and implementing special measures to limit the growth of unemployment.

The decree deems it expedient to grant the workers who are laid off by bankrupt enterprises a priority right to jobs at the state enterprises formed on the basis of the bankrupt enterprises. They also have a priority entitlement to organize their own production on the basis of the bankrupt enterprises, if in conjunction with other purchasers they offer equal terms for the purchase of property.

The decree provides for the introduction of monthly compensation for the workers of enterprises, however they are owned, who have for objective reasons been transferred to an incomplete working day or incomplete working week (but for a period not exceeding six months). It is recommended that, as a priority, some of the money obtained from the privatization and sale of the property of bankrupt enterprises and other resources be assigned to organizing social work.

The decree also envisages measures for retraining and vocational in-service training during working time. The Ministry of Labor is instructed to prepare proposals on the right of workers laid off through the bankruptcy of enterprises to retire early on pensions (but not more than two years before the stipulated time).

### Yeltsin Signs Decree on Health Care

*LD2104130893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1130 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—On 20 April Boris Yeltsin signed a decree "on immediate measures to provide health care for the people of the Russian Federation." This document is based on the principle that health care provisions are a priority target for the government. The decree contains a wide range of measures enabling the government to meet this target.

The president has instructed the government to submit to parliament by 1 October federal programs for 1994-1995 in such areas as lowering the rate of premature death, safe motherhood, improving emergency services, etc. By August the government must approve a program of measures for setting up a state system to provide pregnant women, nursing mothers, and children under seven with foodstuffs. In 1994-1995, these advantages will be extended to other socially vulnerable groups.

The decree stipulates a number of measures to improve the material welfare of health workers.

### More on 'Selective Structural Policy' Decree

*MK2004135693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, 20 Apr 93 p 3 (signed to press 19 Apr]*

[Mikhail Leontyev report: "State Plan for Fiscal Selection. Government Draws Up Counter-Reform Ideology"]

[Text] The description of "The Fundamentals of and Criteria for State Selective Policy" opens with a reference to the Government Plan of Action To Implement Economic Reform approved on 11 February 1993. It should be noted from the outset that the action plan did not provide for any such act; what it envisioned was the drawing up of a federal restructuring program for the period up to 1995, which is what the Economics Ministry has been dealing with for over six months. The budget for 1992 already calls for a significant increase in centralized investment for the so-called "priority sectors." "The Chernomyrdin plan" goes much further beyond what was contemplated by moderate restructuring advocates from the Economics Ministry. It sets the task of not only stabilizing production but also of achieving growth in products considered vital, such as oil, railway cargo cars, ball bearings, fertilizers, "and many other goods." It calls for "creating conditions to increase such production beginning in 1993 without permitting a slump in this production which would be catastrophic for the economy."

I presume it is not by chance that this strange phrase appeared in the document: a policy of boosting economic growth given the current inflation rate and the current "un-streamlined" production structure, according to economists, would be fraught initially with financial collapse and then with general economic breakdown.

So, let us turn directly to the stages of implementation:

—Before 1 May 1993 active work should commence in central state management bodies. "In each ministry and committee this work should be supervised by the respective first deputy chief."

But that is where the problem lies! Viktor Chernomyrdin has from the very first days of his prime ministership been suspected of intending to reanimate branch ministries to the detriment of the industry generals on whom the Gaydar government tried to rely in its late days. Having lost control over the distribution of resources and failing (so far) to obtain the right to be in charge of branch privatizations, the apparatus of branch departments has finally found a reliable source of self-perpetuation. Thus it is not without cause that the Soviet textbook term "technical policies in the sector" appears in the text of the "fundamentals." The government deems it essential that "forces of central management bodies be involved in the work to implement the structural policy." Note the use of the term "forces" rather than "non-forces," which is currently the case.

—The second stage: Before 20 May "the address points" should be identified and money agreed upon to implement the structural policy in 1993. Then, "the aggregate amount of centralized funds should be distributed to those addresses so that enterprises that find themselves in the sphere of influence of the selective structural policy will know specifically on what sources they can rely." So much for "the market:" If you are lucky to find yourself in "the sphere of influence," then you can rely on money, if not—forget it. There is no doubt that those who "find themselves in the sphere of influence" will be precisely the enterprises that formerly managed to obtain loan, tax, and other privileges.

—The third stage: Before 10 June the Economics Ministry, in cooperation with all the ministries, committees, and so forth, prepares jointly with the Finance Ministry forecast estimates for sectors and regions. These will have to be guided by those estimates throughout the year.

The "fundamentals" describe in detail who should be guided by the estimates and how. For instance, the Central Bank should make payments to "selected enterprises" on a priority basis, the State Property Committee should act promptly in order to prevent the enterprises that have not found themselves among "the selected ones" from going bankrupt, the Agriculture Ministry should ensure "with precision" that agricultural producers receive feedback. The only thing nobody has to use as guidance is the material on structural policies prepared by Economics Ministry specialists under former minister Nechayev.

This scrutiny of the approved decree shows that it does not contain, to put it mildly, any actual instruments for its implementation. Viewed from this angle, the future experience of structural selection may be considered entirely innocuous. The only person who will undoubtedly find it impossible to comply with the prime minister's orders, however, is Finance Minister Boris Fedorov: There are no appropriations for the new undertaking in the budget. And the decrees on "the stabilization" in the agriculture sector and coal subsidies adopted at the same time make the talk about financial stabilization and credit ceilings totally inappropriate. The only thing one can be sure of is that by the end of the quarter the Central Bank will no longer be subject to accusations of undermining agreements reached and causing the leap in inflation.

However, the crux of the selective structural policy is the idea of "state entrepreneurship." It "should place first and foremost the task of ensuring the production of goods and services required by society." That is to say, not raw profits, but the welfare of the citizenry. "There are no contradictions with the interests of private enterprise here, because the profits of private companies that replenish the state's tax base also work for the benefit of the economy and society in general." A fairly conventional concept: The main task of the economy and the main benefit to "society in general" is the replenishment of the state's tax base.

One thing that can be said is that the ideology of "the Chernomyrdin plan" is directly at odds with both the approved Russian Federation government action plan and the goals of any genuine market reform.

## Wages Increased for 'Grade One' Workers

*PM2004132593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 1*

[Council of Ministers-Government 12 April 1993 Decree No. 304 "On Raising the Monthly Wage (Salary) of Grade One of the Unified Wage Scale for Workers in the Budget-Funded Sphere"]

[Text] Moscow—The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government decrees:

1. That as of 1 April 1993 the monthly wage (salary) for grade one of the unified wage scale for workers in the budget-funded sphere be set at 4,500 rubles.

2. The Russian Federation Ministry of Finances must determine the procedure and sources of financing of expenditure connected with increasing the wages of workers of budget-funded institutions, organizations, and enterprises.

3. The Russian Federation Ministry of Labor, with the participation of interested central organs of federal executive power, must submit in the first six months of 1993 to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government proposals for improving the unified wage scale for the workers in the budget-funded sphere with a consideration for the practice of its application.

4. The Russian Federation Government 6 January 1993 decree No. 14 "on the introduction of a minimum wage and the establishment of the monthly wage (salary) for grade one of the unified wage scale for workers in the budget-funded sphere" should be deemed invalid.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government.

## Former Minister Saburov Urges Steps To Save Economy

*MK2104103693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 4*

[Interview with Yevgeniy Saburov, director of the Center for Information and Social Technologies, by Vladimir Gurvich; place and date not given; carried under "Reform" rubric: "We Will Stop Inflation—We Will Save the Economy"]

[Text] [Gurvich] The stormy days of the Congress have passed but the political situation has not become clear, the conflict between the two branches of power has merely taken a short break. Therefore the following question arises: How will this struggle affect the situation in the country, above all in the economy?

[Saburov] I would not wish to so dramatize the situation; in my view a normal process of establishing a democratic society is going on. The most important thing is to master the methods of creating political coalitions. Otherwise it will be difficult to launch the stabilization process.

The reasons for the political crisis stem from the fact that the president relies on a narrow parliamentary base. While previously he was supported by two-thirds of the Supreme Soviet, the figure is now no more than one-third. At present there are three fairly distinct groupings in the Supreme Soviet. The executive branch is quite able to agree with two of them. There are no serious political differences between them, while economic differences could be eradicated by means of talks.

[Gurvich] There have been talks before, but so far they have not led to anything specific.

[Saburov] A pact between all constructive forces must be concluded. In so doing personal ambitions should be cast aside and the following postulate should be taken as a basis: Who is going to be represented in the government is not important, what is important is the line it pursues. We should put an end to lobby talks: It is not individual leaders but political forces which must agree among themselves.

[Gurvich] It seems to me that the complexity of the agreement process, besides other reasons, also stems from the fact that various political currents see the further progress of reforms in different ways.

[Saburov] By now it must be clear to everybody that the orthodox plan of reforms is spinning its wheels and a new, more flexible policy is needed. And on this road, I am convinced, it is possible to reach agreement among all sensible economic groupings. Especially as the priority measures to save the economy are quite obvious: limitation of the increase in incomes; limitation of the increase in profits; stabilization of the ruble rate. Unless we take these steps, unless we stop inflation, we will cause irreparable harm not only to the country's current interests but also to its future ones—because no substantial investment in the economy is possible while inflationary winds are blowing through it. I therefore repeat again: An economic solidarity pact is needed. This has been the case in other states where complex economic reforms have been carried out.

[Gurvich] Do you not think that the liberal experiment in the Russian economy is coming to an end with Chernomyrdin's arrival in the post of head of government?

[Saburov] I do not think so. Vice Premier Boris Fedorov is a striking representative of the liberal school of economists. It is another matter that the ways of inculcating liberal principles into the economy could be diverse. But I entirely agree with Fedorov's intentions to limit credit emission. If it continues on the same scale as in the second half of 1992 there can be no question of any lowering of inflation.

[Gurvich] You were, although not for long, minister of the economy. If you were offered this post again, what action would you take?

[Saburov] I am not a lover of the subjunctive mood, but I would pay very close attention to privatization. It is very important here to resolve the question of what the aim is and what the method is. First, there is the question of bankruptcy; the number of unprofitable enterprises is increasing. The process of privatizing them should be combined with the process of cleansing them. Second, it is time to end all prejudices against privatization with the endless talk of "selling out [prikhvatizatsiya—a play on words used by opponents of privatization, "privatizatsiya"]." Why is an ancient palace in the former GDR being sold to a French firm for the nominal price of one mark? Because it is advantageous: The firm will restore the palace and start to put it into operation and pay taxes. Privatization must not be regarded as the budget's income element, it is its expenditure element. In the West a privatization agency gives credit to someone who takes ownership of a facility. Everything is the other way around in our country. What happens as a result? Many people have gotten hold of property, and now either they do not have enough money to use it effectively or they simply do not know what to do with it.

The second aspect. I favor a completely open economy. All the talk that foreigners will buy up half of Russia is nonsense. I have met with Western businessmen and seen how careful they are with their money. An American once said to me: "I will not invest my capital in the country which is spoken about on television."

In my view another important problem is the restoration of statistics. It has almost entirely collapsed here. Certainly nobody knows what is now going on in the economy. But it is extremely difficult and problematic to manage it without precise and reliable information.

Once again I repeat: I do not see the situation as tragic. But in order to change it for the better a policy of taking the economy out of its straitjacket is needed.

## Regional Affairs

### Yeltsin Arrives in Izhevsk on Udmurtia Visit

*LD2204060393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0542 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[Text] Izhevsk April 22 TASS—President Yeltsin arrived in Izhevsk today. The programme of his trip includes a visit to the state-owned plant Izhmash, the largest in the region, a conference with directors of arms-manufacturing factories and a meeting with the republic's intellectuals, with whom the president will discuss problems of the development of national culture and science.

### Itinerary Outlined

*LD2004125193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Tomorrow, 21 April, Russian President Boris Yeltsin is to go on a one-day trip to Udmurtia. Over to our correspondent Vadim Dynin.

[Dynin] Despite the approaching referendum, the schedule for the visit does not spare any time for rallies or meetings. Straight from the airport, the president's motorcade is to proceed to the Izhevsk state-owned machine-building works, where Boris Nikolayevich will be shown around an exhibition of civilian output of Udmurtia's defense industry enterprises. At a subsequent closed meeting, the directors of these enterprises will share their problems ensuing from conversion.

It has to be noted that the president's team includes Russian Vice Premier Boris Fedorov and First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin. They will fly to Izhevsk on 20 April in order to hold preliminary discussions on credits for Udmurtia's defense industry enterprises and the placing of defense orders there.

From the city gates, Boris Yeltsin will proceed to Votkinsk, where Petr Ilyich Chaykovskiy's house is situated. At the composer's birthplace, the president will have a meeting with artistic intelligentsia and the leaders of Udmurtia's national parties and movements. En route to Votkinsk, Boris Nikolayevich will visit the "Put Ilyicha" collective farm in the village of Yakshur.

Government sources report that on the eve of his visit, Russian Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun, who is accompanying the president, will discuss the plans for building a large goose farm and a state horse-breeding farm in Udmurtia. It is obvious that these facilities cannot be built without significant federal investments.

The Russian president's one-day visit to Udmurtia will conclude with his meeting with members of the presidiums of the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers. It will be held behind closed doors, but one can surmise that Udmurtia's leadership will not miss this opportunity to discuss economic relations between Moscow and Izhevsk, which have lately been developing not in the republic's favor.

### Views Court Decision, Referendum

*LD2204084593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0752 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Alfred Artamonov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Izhevsk, 22 Apr—Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Izhevsk today. Answering journalists at the airport, Boris Yeltsin noted that his trip to Udmurtia had been planned in advance. "Udmurtia is quite a special republic," the president said, "it is the most militarized of all our republics, two-thirds of its industrial potential is geared toward defense." According to Boris Yeltsin, conversion issues will be discussed at a meeting later today with the directors of defense factories of Udmurtia and other regions.

Commenting on yesterday's decision by the Russian Constitutional Court, the president said: "The court decided as it should have, otherwise the case would have been submitted to an international court."

Answering a question about what Boris Yeltsin intends to do if confidence in him is shown at the 25 April referendum, the president replied: "I would not like to reveal all the secrets before 26 April. But I would like to say that a number of tough and strong measures will have to be taken."

From the airport Boris Yeltsin left for the "Izhmash" state factory.

## Yeltsin Responds to Rutskoy Comments

*LD2204091493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[Text] Our Yekaterinburg correspondent Ella Erkomaishvili reports that Russian President Boris Yeltsin gave an interview to the Sverdlovsk Television and Radio Company. Answering the questions of fellow countrymen, Yeltsin expressed his opinion of the speech given by Aleksandr Rutskoy. In particular, the president stated, quote, a lot of the things that the vice president spoke about are indeed serious problems. There is corruption and there are illegal deals in the higher echelons of power. The issues that the vice president spoke about are of paramount importance. The facts cited by the vice president must be investigated by the appropriate competent bodies, but I think it was Aleksandr Vladimirovich's duty to pass these materials to the procurator's office, not to keep them for months on end till a convenient time, and not to wait until the referendum on a vote of confidence for the president starts, because time is not the least of factors in combating corruption, unquote.

Further, as to the high officials that Aleksandr Rutskoy named, the president added, quote: This is my opinion: the guilty parties should be accountable in accordance with the law. In a law-governed state there should be no exceptions and compromises for anyone, unquote.

## Grachev Continues Tour of Far East

### Visits 'Notorious' Naval Base

*LD2104125693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Report from Vladivostok by correspondent M. Voznesenskiy; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A special point in the plans for the visit to the Far East by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev was the notorious Russkiy Island where four young sailors died from malnutrition and inhuman living conditions, through the connivance of commanders. As has been reported, more than 50 people have been dismissed, including Pacific Fleet Commander Gennadiy Khvatov, and recommended for retirement into the reserve. But, as often happens, the punishment of the culprits took on the appearance of a hasty campaign. So Pavel Grachev's words on his arrival did not surprise journalists very much:

[Begin Grachev recording] I have received collective appeals from servicemen and also from the leadership of the kray on the reinstatement of certain admirals and officers to their posts after this tragedy. We will examine this matter on an individual basis for each of those who have been punished. [end recording]

However, on Russkiy Island, it seems that the defense minister markedly changed his decision. He was annoyed by attempts at overt deception on the eve of the important visit. Furthermore, the minister believes that the shortcomings have not been overcome to the required extent and that people's living conditions dispose them to epidemics. He ordered that cadets be immediately removed from the barracks of the radiotechnical school and that they be provided with accommodation fit to live in. The defense minister was particularly surprised that those directly responsible for the death of the young cadets—the commanders of a training company—have not yet been put on trial.

### Discusses Joint Military Commands

*LD2104221093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The headquarters of the Joint Command of Far Eastern troops, which will carry out the leadership of the troops of the Far Eastern Military District and the forces of the Pacific Ocean Fleet, will be set up in Komsomolsk-on-Amur by 1995. This was stated by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev in Khabarovsk today. The next step, according to the minister, will be the establishment of a joint command of Transbaykal and Siberia with headquarters in Ulan-Ude. Grachev expressed the belief that in the European part of Russia such a structure may appear only in the event of an exacerbation of the situation in the south of the country.

Pavel Grachev flew to the Transbaykal Military District today.

## Chechnya's Dudayev Interviewed on Situation

*LD2104152693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1515 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—"The situation in Chechnya will be normal. The aims pursued by the opposition have been fully exposed by the people and they saw for themselves what the opposition wants and to what methods it resorts. I think there will be little room for these people on the Chechen soil," Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev said in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS on Wednesday.

Dudayev said the opposition was running out of time, and that is does not have any political, economic demands and programmes. There is just a scenario prepared in advance by separate groups, mafia structures and bureaucratic elements split from the party who linked their interests to people's deputies," Dudayev said. [quotation marks as received]

In his opinion, this "global knot" has launched a resolute attack with the aim of winning key positions and creating a clan structural base.

"The time for the attack has not been chosen accidentally either," Dudayev said. He believes that in the forthcoming referendum the people will show confidence in Boris Yeltsin.

"The task of opponents of the executive power and the president is not to let this happen. And the most fertile soil for this is, of course, in Chechnya, where party, economics and mafia structures support the Russian parliamentary speaker, " Dudayev said.

He pointed out that Boris Yeltsin's team and the executive power is not exercising any negative influence on developments in Chechnya. Dudayev highly appreciated the Russian president's wish to reach mutual understanding on the basis of good-neighbourly relations.

Dudayev believes the danger of the situation is that "the people themselves can do away with those who have led to confrontation. "As soon as some of them fires a shot, a ravaging storm will sweep aside everything that stands on the way of the people. I am making all possible efforts not to let this happen. And if the people trust me, I shall reinstate order in half an hour," [quotation marks as received], Dudayev said.

At the same time reports coming from Groznyy said that Chechen Foreign Minister Shamseddin Yusef circulated a statement today expressing his conviction that the real instigators of the worsening situation in Chechnya are former Chechen deputies to the Russian parliament and representatives of the party nomenclature, seeking to return to power.

## Pro-, Anti-Dudayev Forces Rally in Groznyy

*LD2104141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1258 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sahrip Asuyev and Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—Thousands of residents of Groznyy, the capital of Chechnya, have once again assembled on the "Svoboda" ("Liberty") and "Theatre" squares today. According to a report received by telephone, passions are still running high. There are quite a number of armed people at both the meetings, that is why orators are appealing to the public to use common sense and search for a compromise.

Supporters of the president have been maintaining in their speeches that only Dzhokhar Dudayev is capable of unifying all rational forces of the nation around him and taking the republic out of a blind alley.

On Theatre Square the president is being reproached for being authoritarian and power hungry. He is being accused of messing up the economy of the republic, political uncertainity and an unprecedented growth of crime.

Unfortunately the situation in the republic is to a great extent being stirred up by rumours. A majority of newspapers in the republic are not being published and radio and television have less broadcasting time.

## Dudayev Orders Mugadayev To Form New Cabinet

*LD2104161993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1520 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[by ITAR-TASS correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Groznyy/Moscow, 21 April—The power structures in Groznyy are moving from political appeals to genuine actions aimed at stabilizing the tense situation. In accordance with the demands of the demonstrators and a decree by Chechnya President Dzhokhar Dudayev, as of today Vice Premier Mayrbek Mugadayev, by instruction of the president, has begun to form a new cabinet of ministers. As Mayrbek Mugadayev told an ITAR-TASS correspondent by phone, the new cabinet must be a cabinet of national concord. The main criterion for inclusion will be professionalism and competence.

The 53 year-old Mayrbek Mugadayev is a builder by profession. For a long time he headed one of the best construction trusts on the territory of the former USSR, and he has authority in both political and economic circles in Groznyy. A year ago, at the personal request of Dzhokhar Dudayev, he took up the post of vice premier. Observers in Groznyy note that it is quite within Mayrbek Mugadayev's powers to attract genuine professionals to him and create a strong team of executive authority. So far it is unclear whether Dudayev will give Mugadayev the post of head of government or whether he intends to keep it for himself, as before. Today the name of one of the candidates for membership in the new cabinet of ministers is known—the post of security minister has been provisionally occupied by Sultan Geliskhanov. Previously he headed one of the rayon departments of this ministry. According to observers, the cadre changes in the force structures may be evidence of Dzhokhar Dudayev strengthening his support, while ruling out the possibility of armed conflict with the opposition.

## Chechen Parliament Chairman Urges Groznyy Referendum

*LD2104170993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1640 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sharip Asuyev, Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—"An uneasy situation which emerged in Groznyy can be resolved by peaceful means - by setting up a conciliatory commission consisting of representatives of both rallies - in support and against President Dzhokhar Dudayev," Husayn Akhmadov, chairman of the Chechen parliament, told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Wednesday.

Akhmadov said that "the next step should be a referendum which can be supposedly held no later than June 5, 1993."

The parliament suggests putting four questions to the referendum: On confidence in President Dzhokhar

Dudayev, the parliament, whether re-elections of both branches of power are needed and on the expediency of the existence of an institute of Presidency in the Chechen Republic.

The time for the referendum has not been fixed yet because of the lack of quorum with some deputies surrendering their powers, and others taking part in rallies. According to Akhmadov, elections will take place only in three months' time.

Akhmadov denied reports alleging that recent developments in Groznyy were instigated by Moscow - by the Russian parliamentary speaker and his entourage. In Akhmadov's opinion, disturbances in Groznyy were provoked by instigators from Groznyy.

### Further on Voronezh Seminar of Soviet Heads

*PM2104164793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 93 First Edition p 4*

[Yevgeniy Pisarev report under "Politics" rubric: "'Yes' to Humane Reforms. Visit to Voronezh by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov Ended 20 April"]

[Text] Voronezh—Ruslan Khasbulatov's meeting with agricultural workers in the Culture Center of the "Maslovskiy" pedigreed stock plant was still in progress when a rally was held in Voronezh outside the building of the soviet of people's deputies and the oblast administration; it was organized by Boris Yeltsin's supporters, and was of a sharp and implacable tone.... It was drizzling slightly, and a gusty wind was tearing a poster saying "Khasbulatov—Out of Voronezh!" from the hands of one rally participant.

Such was the hospitality under the Russian tricolor.

But the next day, 20 April, an antipresidential rally was held in the same place before the beginning of the seminar-conference of leaders of Russian Federation soviets of people's deputies. And this time the wind was battering a different poster: "Russia Was Reborn After Hitler, It Will Be Reborn After Yeltsin Too!"

Such is politics.

The April 1985 wind of change which promised so much is in April 1993 blowing in sharp destructive gusts. And there are diminishing hopes that the upcoming referendum will bring accord into society.

"Sticky conditions"—that is how Ruslan Khasbulatov, making his concluding speech at the seminar-conference in Voronezh, described the situation in the country. This is a fairly pithy description. Leaders of republic, kray, and oblast soviets of the Russian Federation confirmed its correctness. Concern for Russia's future was voiced in the speech made by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Valentin Agafonov. The country's population, according to the speaker, has been hypnotized by the presidential team, and we, he said, must help people to come out of this trance. As for the main part of the speech, it was devoted entirely to the referendum and the procedure for holding it.

The speech made by Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Commission for Holding the All-Russian Referendum, was also businesslike. Speaking of the procedure for holding it, he stressed in particular that the commission will operate in strict accordance with the law. However, he was very skeptical about any possible results of the referendum. The referendum will give us nothing positive, Vasiliy Kazakov said; the two branches of power will find out their true rating, and that will be all.

The chairman of the Central Electoral Commission also touched on certain of the finer points of the upcoming referendum. In particular, he reported that conscripts can vote at open civilian polling places. It is more difficult with refugees. For one reason or another, many of them have not take up Russian citizenship. Therefore the question of their right to participate in the referendum will have to be settled on an individual basis. The Chechen Republic does not intend to vote, Vasiliy Kazakov reported. But we give every inhabitant of Chechnya the right to come to any polling place in the Russian Federation and make his choice.

Notes of alarm could be heard in the speech by Russian Federation General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov.

Speaking of the facts cited in Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's recent speech at the Russian Supreme Soviet session, Valentin Stepankov noted that many of them have been taken from "live" cases which are being investigated. Work on cases of corruption among the military has become possible only after they were handed over to civilian investigative bodies. Before that, every possible obstacle was placed in the way of the investigations.

Ivan Shabanov, chairman of Voronezh Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, called the vice president's conduct courageous. In his speech he drew attention to the situation that has come about in local television. A court has reinstated the unlawfully dismissed chairman of the television and radio committee, Vitaliy Zhikharev. But both former Minister of the Press Poltoranin and the current minister, Fedotov, are not implementing the court's decrees—a Moscow court, incidentally, not the Voronezh court....

Having noted the critical state of all spheres of the economy, Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, reported that the highest rise in price movements was recorded in January.

Answering a question about the sore subject of bank transactions, Viktor Gerashchenko promised to "eat his hat" if they do not double their rate in April-May. Let us remember his statement.

Recommendation-style referenda are not accepted practice in Russia, Lev Okunkov, director of the Russian

Supreme Soviet Institute of Legislation and Comparative Jurisprudence, noted in his speech. They are all of an imperative nature. Therefore it is important to approach it from a position of profound awareness. In a referendum, political games are dangerous—just as any encroachment on the people's power is dangerous. The exclusion of the Congress of People's Deputies from public life will deprive the president of the healthy opposition without which a democratic system cannot exist, Lev Okunkov said. (Not so much opposition, Ruslan Khasbulatov specified, as a restraining factor.)

The leaders of soviets of people's deputies who spoke at the seminar-conference predicted various versions of the development of events in the country after the referendum. And from time to time notes of alarm came through in certain speeches, which is evidently connected with the peculiarities of the Russian consciousness and its nature. Ruslan Khasbulatov brought a certain clarity, in particular, to the idea of creating the Soviet of the Federation [Sovet Federatsii] and increasing the rights of the regions. The Federation Treaty, he said, is the limit beyond which lies collapse. But if we operate within the framework of the treaty, it will give us unlimited possibilities to implement the rights of the regions.

Having soberly assessed the possible outcome of the referendum, Khasbulatov once again recalled that in every situation deputies must base themselves on the Constitution and on legality. Policies are made for the majority of the population, to ensure the peaceful state of society. But unfortunately, he noted in his concluding speech, the biggest reformer today has also become the biggest obstacle on the path of reforms and democratic transformations.

It was proposed that the participants in the seminar-conference adopt an appeal to the people, political parties, national organizations, and movements of the Chechen Republic, which expresses concern over the exacerbation of the situation in Chechnya as a result of the actions of President Dudayev, who has embarked on the path of establishing personal dictatorship. Common sense, legality, and a peaceful attitude must prevail in the republic.

On 21 April, when the participants in the seminar-conference were dispersing to their regions, there was a prickly drizzle of sleet in Voronezh, and a biting wind tore at the leaflets, mixing up "yes" and "no." And suddenly, whatever the outcome of the referendum, you wanted the majority to say "yes" to socially oriented reforms and "yes" to a democracy whose foundations would incorporate all the people rather than just a section of them.

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## Voronezh Oblast Residents Polled on Referendum

*PM2104133593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "Voronezh Oblast: Political Apathy Is Growing"]

[Text] Forty-six percent intend to take part in the referendum.

Sixty-six percent intend to put their trust in Boris Yeltsin.

Seventy percent do not approve the socioeconomic policy of the president and government.

Fifty-nine percent are in favor of early elections of the president.

Sixty-six percent are in favor of early elections of the people's deputies.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA continues to publish the results of public opinion polls on the four questions of the forthcoming referendum. The features of the study are similar to those we reported on ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 April.

Voronezh Oblast is densely populated. In terms of the number of inhabitants it is among the leading Russian oblasts: Nearly 2 million voters live there. The oblast population's attitude toward the forthcoming referendum is all the more interesting. And it must be said it is rather cool. Only pensioners here display a high degree of political activity—74 percent of the people in this category who were polled stated they would take part in the referendum.

But an active political stance in no way means that, for instance, these pensioners will go to the polling stations to vote together for some one position. Far from it.

Thus, on the first question, about confidence in Boris Yeltsin, only 39 percent intend to vote "yes," while 60.5 percent firmly deny the head of state their trust. That figure is even smaller among workers—36 percent of those polled trust the president and 64 percent do not. Some 84 percent of engineering and technical workers, 70 percent of servicemen, and 69 percent of leaders have no confidence in Yeltsin. The same picture can be seen with regard to inhabitants of rural areas—69 percent of rural inhabitants do not consider it possible to pass a vote of confidence in the president. As for answers to the second question, about the approval of socioeconomic policy, here to all appearances no surprises are predicted at the referendum—of every 10 people polled seven have a negative attitude toward this policy.

In answering the third question, about early elections of the president, only 41 percent of those polled agree to leave Boris Yeltsin in his post.

The inhabitants of Voronezh Oblast are just about as critical with regard to Russian people's deputies—only 34 percent agree to leave them with their mandates until they expire in full. Workers are the most implacably inclined.

An analysis of the figures from the public opinion poll among the population of Voronezh Oblast shows that the disillusionment of voters with the efficiency of both branches of power as regards leading the country out of the crisis is approaching the critical mark.

## Chuvash Premier Confident of Support for Yeltsin

*MK2104134493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 3*

[Stepan Khalturin report: "Most Republic Residents Will Take Part in the Referendum. Supreme Soviet Chairman Eduard Kubarev Favors Adopting New Constitution"]

[Text] According to the head of the Chuvash parliament, the adoption of a new fundamental law reflecting current realities can alone bring Russia calm and order. He thinks that there are no political forces in Chuvashia that could follow the Mordovian scenario. Kubarev says: "Our people are sick and tired of permanent revolutions; there is need for stability, the glimmer of which is already in evidence." "The battle for power has a negative impact on the economy," the republic's head of parliament said. Eduard Kubarev is going to say "yes" to all questions put to the referendum with the exception of the third question. He is confident that the citizens of Chuvashia will give Yeltsin a vote of confidence. The latest public survey in Chuvashia shows that 65 percent of the population will turn up for the referendum on 25 April. More than half of them say they support the Russian president, and nearly 35 percent support his socioeconomic policy. After the referendum, Eduard Kubarev plans to attend to the economy in earnest.

## Tatarstan President on Referendum Participation

*PM2004134093 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 2*

[Dmitriy Mikhaylin report under the "Referendum" general heading: "Mintimer Shaymiyev: I Am Not Afraid To Answer 'Yes'"]

[Text] Kazan—Tatarstan Republic President Mintimer Shaymiyev is not overly optimistic in respect of the forthcoming referendum:

"The referendum in Tatarstan will progress in a more than subdued manner. Not because we intend to obstruct its organization; on the contrary, all the requisite conditions for it will be created. But, you know, Tatarstan's people have not forgotten how last year, when a referendum was held in our country on the status of the republic, all activities by Moscow's organs of power and especially the mass media were aimed at insulting the multiethnic people of Tatarstan. This cannot be forgotten. And it is for this reason that I am not greatly optimistic about the referendum in the republic.

"It has to be said that even under such pressure Tatarstan's people did turn out at the polling booths last year. And the organizers of the Russian referendum can only rejoice if a similar level of activeness is demonstrated at it too. Allegations that the question submitted at our referendum was obscure, intricate, and so on, were directed at us. But the questions destined for the forthcoming referendum are simple only upon first glance, and in actual fact they are far more confusing than ours.

"Why is it that we immediately declared that in Tatarstan all conditions for holding the all-Russian referendum will be created? Precisely because participation in it is the right of each individual.

"The question on the procedure for counting the votes is now becoming increasingly significant. There is no need to argue on this score. Russia's president himself should have insisted that confidence or no confidence in him be defined by a majority of the total number of voters.

"As for me personally, then I will not be afraid to answer 'yes' to all the questions."

Why is it that the republic leadership will steer its population toward this very option? In the view of members of the "Equal Rights and Legality" electoral bloc, which unites democratic parties of the republic, Tatarstan's leadership would benefit from Boris Yeltsin's retaining the post of president, insofar as it is not known what attitude a new head of the Russian state would have toward the process of sovereignization, and people have long since ceased to question the need for fresh elections. Nevertheless, according to the information heard at a press conference by participants in the bloc, the Tatarstan Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the decision to hold a referendum in the republic by a majority of just one vote. This, in their view, can be explained by the Tatarstan leadership's desire to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds; in other words, the desire for the referendum to take place in Tatarstan, but for Moscow to refrain from nurturing particular illusions on the subject of the activeness of republic inhabitants in an all-Russian event. So the democrats believe that Tatarstan's leadership will regulate the population's turnout [prikhod] at the polling places at a level of 50 percent.

The nationalists, as expected, oppose holding the referendum of "a neighboring state, the Russian Federation" on republic territory, and they will do everything possible to prevent inhabitants of the republic from going to the polling places.

It seems that the views expressed by the republic's sober-minded politicians at the very beginning on the untimeliness of the referendum, and on the threat it poses to social calm, are to this day valid.

### Further Remarks

*PM2204083193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 2*

[Interview with Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev by TATARINFORM correspondent A. Khasanov under the general heading "Everybody to the Referendum;" place and date not given: "Mintimer

Shaymiyev: 'Early Elections Are Unavoidable'"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The Tatarstan president reflects on the Russian referendum and its consequences in an interview which a TATARINFORM agency correspondent specially arranged for PRAVDA.

[Khasanov] Mintimer Sharipovich, in connection with the all-Russian referendum which is being conducted on 25 April, interest in our republic's standpoint with regard to this question has noticeably increased of late in the various organs of the mass media abroad and in the nearby foreign parts. Could you briefly comment on Tatarstan's attitude to the carrying out of this political action?

[Shaymiyev] First of all I must say that it is Russia and not Tatarstan which is conducting and financing the referendum. If you remember, however, Article 19 of our Constitution says that citizens of Tatarstan also have citizenship of the Russian Federation. This means that people who wish to participate in the voting will have every condition provided so that they can express their will. The Central Electoral Commission has resumed its activities. Election precincts and electoral commissions have already been formed in Tatarstan's cities and villages. In short, we are, as in the past, following a constitutional path in this matter which, I should point out, also conforms to the norms of international law.

[Khasanov] My colleagues often touch on the following area in their questions: How should we interpret your recent statement that "the republic's inhabitants will react to the referendum in a more than reserved manner?"

[Shaymiyev] We all remember very well the crude pressure which was brought to bear on our people last year when the referendum on Tatarstan's statehood was in progress. Certain forces dragged organs of the prosecutor's office subordinated to Russia into this anti-people, undemocratic business. Even B. Yeltsin was dragged in.

How many leaflets were distributed which called on the people to boycott our referendum! How frenzied the propaganda campaign organized in the mass media was! Russia's "democrats," not without the help of their supporters in our republic, insulted Tatarstan's multinational people with these actions. I consider that this cannot help but have an effect on our citizens' attitude to the Russian referendum.

[Khasanov] People's Deputy M. Sirazin says the following in an interview in a local newspaper: "...if we orient ourselves toward the interests of the Republic of Tatarstan and its sovereignty, what is now necessary is simply an alliance of the authorities, democrats, and nationalists." What is your view of this?

[Shaymiyev] I know, for example, that the "Referendum Bloc" headquarters, "Equal Rights and Legitimacy," and the so-called "Coordination Council of Public Organizations and Movements Supporting Tatarstan's Complete Independence" are operating in the republic. In connection with the first of these, this bloc's members openly spoke out against the referendum in Tatarstan last year and called on people to reply to the question it posed in the negative. I am surprised by the double standard in their approach to present day political and economic problems.

Let us take, for example, the question of presidential power. They are fighting for strong presidential power in the Russian Federation, although they are continually coming out against strong presidential power in Tatarstan in sessions of our parliament and the mass media. It turns out that strong presidential power in Russia suits them just fine, but presidential power in our republic does not. It is reasonable that the following question arises: Whose interests are these forces serving? Can all this be called a standpoint or is the expression "taking advantage of the situation" more appropriate here?

On the subject of the national movements' statements, I cannot agree with their attempts to interpret individual articles of our Constitution in their own way according to the political situation. This also indicates that there are no unbiased standpoints.

[Khasanov] Various opinions about the outcome of the forthcoming referendum are vying with each other in the central mass media . Could you share with us your forecast of its results?

[Shaymiyev] I consider that all branches of power in a democratic multinational state should be strong. There will be no stabilization of society without orderly, constructive, and creative work by the representative, executive, and judicial branches of power. Otherwise, there will be, as there is now, confrontation, which takes power and resources away from you. As far as the results of the Russian referendum are concerned, it seems to me that no outcome will lead to sound social stability. Therefore, early elections are now becoming unavoidable both for the presidency and the representative organs of power in Russia. I think that the idea that such elections are necessary will gradually take hold of the public consciousness.

[Khasanov] Now a little on the nature of the questions submitted for the referendum. Do you agree with the opinion that they are extremely complicated?

[Shaymiyev] They only seem simple at first glance. Even if they are taken as a whole they have no basis which unites them, not to mention the fact that taken individually they certainly do not and cannot achieve the aim which the referendum has set itself. The list of questions submitted for the referendum gives ample opportunity for each of the opposing sides to interpret them in a manner which is advantageous to themselves, whatever the outcome of the vote on the questions.

In connection with the situation which has developed over the Russian referendum, I would like to remind people of the passions which these same so-called "democrats" artificially whipped up over the question which the Tatarstan referendum posed.. If the wording of the question in Tatarstan's referendum, which the people supported, led to agreement, then as far as the Russian Federation is concerned, I unfortunately am not today sure that after 25 April the same thing will happen in the Russian echelons of power.

## Kursk Soviet Abolishes Yeltsin Representative's Post

*PM2204104793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Vladimir Kulagin: "President's Representative Deposed in Kursk Oblast"]

[Text] Kursk—A decision by the inner soviet in Kursk Oblast has abolished the post of president's representative, which was held by Aleksandr Kurenikov.

The oblast administration has been told to stop providing the president's representative and his apparatus with communications facilities, transport, oblast-owned official premises and housing, and a monetary allowance and to remove the sign from the house of soviets. On top of that A. Kurenikov and his apparatus have been told to suspend political as well as official activities in Kursk Oblast.

I met with Aleksandr Kurenikov and asked him to comment on the inner soviet's decision.

"It seems to me Vladimir Likhachev, chairman of our oblast soviet, was simply in too much of a hurry to report back to his supreme mentor R. Khasbulatov on the implementation of the decision of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on the abolition of the institution of president's representative in the regions of the Russian Federation. At any rate, there was no confrontation between me and the oblast administration head or oblast soviet chairman. This inner soviet decision merely disrupts public accord in the provinces. I have had calls from many oblast rayons, with people asking: Does this mean the positions of the supporters of the first popularly elected Russian president are rather shaky?.. I tell them there are no grounds for panic. I am here, the presidential representative's apparatus continues to function, and the committee of support for the Russian Federation president is operating as well."

After the inner soviet made its decision A. Kurenikov met with oblast administration chief Vasiliy Shuteyev. According to the president's representative, the administration chief told him that the administration does not intend to place any obstacles in the way of the president's representative in Kursk Oblast and his apparatus in the execution of their official duties until the Constitutional Court gives its verdict on the abolition of the institution of president's representive in Russia's regions by the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies.

Today A. Kurenikov provided the media with a special statement which says, in particular, that A. Kurenikov was appointed Russian Federation president's representative for Kursk Oblast by Russian presidential edict and only the president is entitled to suspend his activities. And the responsibility for the inner soviet's decision, A. Kurenikov's statement says, rests with the oblast soviet and its chairman, V. Likhachev, personally.

## Yeltsin Supporter Withdraws From Kursk Local Election

*PM2204092593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 93 p 1*

[Correspondent Nikolay Utkin report: "Kursk People Vote Intelligently"]

[Text] Graphic confirmation of the "success" enjoyed in the oblast by the reform policy and the president's course has been provided by the elections for people's deputy from Kursk National-Territorial District No 52. Vladimir Likhachev, chairman of the oblast soviet, and Viktor Alksnis, observer for the newspaper DEN, got through to next Sunday's [25 April] next round of voting.

The program of the first candidate includes ensuring genuine people's power via the soviets and support for the Congress' decisions. The political credo of the second candidate is well known.

Valeriy Yakovlev, a member of the staff of the president's representative and member of the "Democratic Russia" Council, gathered less than half as many votes as V. Alksnis, member of the National Salvation Front Political Council, and withdrew from the campaign. He was not helped either by his angry denunciation of the CPSU or by his stance as a fierce supporter of B. Yeltsin's course.

## International Affairs

### Official Spells Out Stance on Nuclear Weapons

*LD2104155193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] [Announcer] The briefing at the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Ukraine, which took place on 20 April, was devoted to explaining the position of the Ukrainian delegation on issues of nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine in the talks with Russia's delegation. Our diplomats were forced to return to this issue by accusations in the Moscow newspapers IZVESTIYA and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA which distort Ukraine's position regarding nuclear weapons. Here is Anatoliy Komirenko with more details about this:

[Komirenko] Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, head of the Directorate of the Ukraine Foreign Affairs Ministry for Issues of Disarmament and Arms Limitation, noted in his remarks to journalists that almost a month has passed since the last round of talks between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. The Ukrainian side desired to reach a compromise at the talks. However, so-called newspaper diplomacy began on Russia's part. Returning to the subject of the talks themselves, Mr. Hryshchenko noted:

[Begin Hryshchenko recording] The talks were held on issues of the status of strategic nuclear forces deployed on Ukraine's territory, on issues of utilization of nuclear components which, following the dismantling and destruction of nuclear warheads, could be used, for example, as fuel for Ukrainian nuclear power stations or in some other way, and on issues of ensuring the nuclear safety of strategic nuclear forces located here.

Ukraine's position is fairly well known, but the main thing is that we would like it to be heard. Unfortunately, it has happened, and is still happening, that we are not heard, and not because they [as heard] cannot hear us, but because they do not want to, because Ukraine's position on these issues is correct, and it is after all fairly difficult to deny this without distortions. [end recording]

[Komirenko] Mr. Hryshchenko went on to emphasize that the nuclear weapons which we inherited from the former Soviet Union were created by the efforts of all the peoples which were part of the Union without regard for the will of the majority of all peoples. After the break-up of the Union, one of the successor states, with equal rights just like the others, insisted and very much wanted to be a nuclear state, and this was Russia.

But proceeding from an analysis of the range of observations, including political, geo-strategic, and economic, the Supreme Council placed Ukraine's intentions to become non-nuclear in the future in the declaration on state sovereignty. The strategic nuclear forces located on our territory were transferred to the operational control of the joint command of strategic forces of the CIS in accordance with a whole series of inter-state accords. That is, these forces have never been under the jurisdiction of any other state, either legally or in fact.

Russia treats the issue as if it were the only successor of the USSR, in particular regarding nuclear weapons, and it is because of this that strategic forces should be subordinate to the Ministry of Defense of Russia. This leads to the fact that there will be foreign troops on Ukraine's territory. Mr. Hryshchenko specially drew the journalists' attention to the following aspect of the matter:

[Begin Hryshchenko recording] At the talks our side emphasized that really all materials which are constituents of nuclear weapons are our property, namely materials, namely constituents [as heard]. We do not lay claim to control, to ownership of nuclear warheads, which are meant for only one thing—a nuclear explosion. That is, the quality of nuclear weapons does not interest us here. We are interested in the material part—the utilization of those materials which the people of Ukraine took part in creating and producing, although they themselves did not want to.

In this connection the issue has arisen, and it arises and is still there, on how nuclear and other materials will be utilized, which (?have been removed) and are now being removed from tactical nuclear weapons taken away to Russia in the spring of 1992 for dismantling and destruction. We did not renounce the right of ownership of nuclear materials at any stage. The Russian side is refusing even to discuss this issue. Then doubt really does arise as to what guarantees we will have, even if we agree, about the dismantling of strategic charges [boyezaryady] in Russia, whether there will not be another change of position regarding even discussing this issue. [end recording]

[Komirenko] On the principles of standing up for these interests, Kostyantyn Hryshchenko noted, Ukraine, whatever pressure may be put on it, cannot agree to there being foreign troops on its territory, and cannot agree to signing agreements which would cause it material losses.

### Russian Admiral Wants Naval Cadets Transferred to Russia

*AU2104134093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 20 Apr 93 p 4*

[Oleksandr Pilat report from the Crimea: "Report From the Fleet"]

[Text] The command of the Black Sea Fleet, Ukraine's Naval Forces, and the Sevastopol Naval Institute received a telegram from Admiral V. Selivanov, chief of the Main Headquarters of the Russian Federation Naval Forces, to the effect that those cadets in the second to fourth years of study at the Sevastopol Naval Institute who have not sworn allegiance to Ukraine be transferred, by 25 April, to St. Petersburg and Kaliningrad for the continuation of their studies at naval academies there.

Commenting upon this telegram, Captain 1st Class Mykola Kostrov, head of the Sevastopol garrison, said that a mass transfer of cadets might destabilize the political situation in Sevastopol. Rear Admiral Viktor Makarov, chief of the Sevastopol Naval Institute, also spoke against their immediate transfer to Russian schools. He believes that the cadets must be given an opportunity to complete the semester.

Meanwhile, as reported from the headquarters of Ukraine's Naval Forces, Mykola Kostrov, who has just been appointed chief of the Sevastopol garrison, began his duties. However, so far, Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, has refused to hand over the commandant's office to the Ukrainian military.

## National Affairs

### Supreme Soviet Session Examines Military Issues

*MK2104140693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 3*

[Vladimir Skachko report: "Closed Plenary Supreme Soviet Session. On the Agenda—Military Questions]

[Text] A closed plenary session of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet is examining a package of documents relating to the military sphere.

A decision to this effect was made at the Supreme Soviet Presidium session chaired by Speaker Ivan Plyushch.

A tentative work schedule for 20 April includes the following questions: the structure, number and program of Ukraine's Armed Forces reduction; information on defense sufficiency and the conversion of Ukrainian industry; information on the state of talks between the government delegation of Ukraine and Russia regarding nuclear disarmament; and information on the state of talks between the state delegations of Ukraine and the Russian Federation regarding the Black Sea Fleet.

Tentative speakers on these matters were Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov; President Leonid Kravchuk; Valentin Lemish, chairman of the Standing Commission on Defense and State Security Questions; Vasiliy Durdinets, first deputy speaker of Parliament; Yuriy Kostenko, chairman of the Interim Working Group on Nuclear Disarmament Questions; and Viktor Antonov, minister of the military-industrial complex and military conversion.

In addition to the questions already listed, Presidium members plan to examine in subsequent days laws on refugees, and on standing commissions of deputies. The Supreme Soviet Presidium also supported a request by the Standing Commission of Deputies on Questions of Glasnost and the Mass Media to Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma for urgent supplies of newsprint for the print media because of a disastrous situation regarding newsprint in the republic.

### Commission Appeals to Kuchma To Save National Press

*AU2104130793 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 17 Apr 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Express Information": "In Defense of the Freedom of Speech"]

[Text] Ukraine's Supreme Council Commission for Questions of Glasnost and of the Mass Media adopted an appeal to Ukraine's Prime Minister L.D. Kuchma, in which it draws the government's attention to the catastrophic state of the Ukrainian press. It is pointed out in the appeal that only the printed mass media of the Russian Federation are provided with paper and are regularly published, whereas the press of independent Ukraine is actually dying.

The commission demanded that a special meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers Presidium be urgently convened to find an immediate solvution to the question of providing the Ukrainian press with paper.

### Government To Support 'Central,' Kiev Newspapers

*AU2104130993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 17 Apr 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Express Information: Ukraine's Newspapers Will Come Out"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Government will not accept any disruption in the publication of Ukraine's central newspapers. This was stated by Anatoliy Minchenko, chairman of the State Committee for Material Resources. He announced that 1,000 tonnes of newsprint had been allocated to the press from the state's reserves. Another 40,000 tonnes will arrive from Russia in the very near future.

Support will mainly be given to central and Kiev newspapers. The rest of the independent publications, owing to the absence of centralized supply, will have to buy paper at market prices and will also have to pay customs duty.

### Conference Places Chernobyl Facility Under Plant Authority

*AU2104133293 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 17 Apr 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Express Information": "On the Status of the 'Ukryttya' [Shelter] Facility"]

[Text] The "Ukryttya" facility that has been constructed over the dismantled fourth unit of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Generating Station [AES] must be subordinated to the administration of the Chernobyl AES alone. Such a final and coordinated decision was adopted at a conference held by Ukraine Vice Prime Minister Yu.Ya. Ioffe. The participants in the conference included members of the Supreme Council standing commissions, ministers, representatives of ministries and departments, scientists, and plant operators. The technical state of the "Ukryttya" facility and measures for improving the level of its safe exploitation were thoroughly analyzed.

## Chernobyl AES Preparing for Shutdown by Year's End

*PM2104153993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 21 Apr 93*

["Novosti" newscast video report by Vladimir Lyaskalo and Vitaliy Sulima]

[Text] [Lyaskalo] The Chernobyl collective is getting ready to shut down the station's last two operational power generation units by the end of the year. The decommissioning of the nuclear power station [AES] must then start and is expected to take decades.

[N. Sorokin, general director of "Chernobylskaya AES" Production Association] Technically we will be ready in 1993 to provide a minimum service at the station to ensure nuclear and radiation safety. What will happen to the personnel after the station is closed down? I must remind you that in 1988, when we switched to a non-tour-of-duty method, 90 percent of the staff were replaced. This meant that about 4,000 skilled workers and nuclear specialists disappeared into Kiev and other Ukrainian cities. So the state has lost their services forever. Now we are losing another 4,000 people.

[Lyaskalo] How do you see your personal future if the station closes down?

[A. Say, Chernobyl AES power unit shift controller] I will probably go to another station.

[Lyaskalo] That is likely to be in Russia, isn't it?

[Say] Of course. The nuclear power industry has no future in Ukraine. dd

## Belarus

### Further on Kravchanka's U.S. Visit, Meetings With Senators

*WS2104115893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1000 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka continues an official visit to the United States. He has been holding negotiations with representatives of the U.S. Administration, including Toby Gati, who is in charge of the newly independent states at the National Security Council. They discussed U.S. support for market reforms in Belarus and supplementing military strategic assistance with economic aid, which will contribute to the development of the changes currently under way in Belarus. The parties also discussed the Belarusian stance on the issue of joint security within the CIS.

The minister also met influential senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar, authors of the project for granting $400 million for elimination of nuclear arms in the newly independent states, and Secretary of Defense Les Aspin.

[Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 21 April adds: "The Belarusian Government's approval of the START treaty and the treaty on measures for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is highly appreciated in the United States. This was stated by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher at a meeting with Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko, who has arrived in Washington on an official visit. The U.S. and Belarusian ministers discussed the possibility of U.S. assistance in work to dismantle nuclear weapons on Belarusian territory. Washington has promised to allocate $65 million for these purposes.

["Petr Kravchenko's visit coincided with another important event in U.S.-Belarusian relations. An embassy of the Republic of Belarus has opened in Washington. The Belarusians paid only one dollar for this fine three-story residence in the center of the U.S. capital which will house the diplomatic mission. True, the Americans themselves paid only one ruble for their embassy building in Minsk. Mutually advantageous exchange is under way."]

### Minsk Signs Agreement With Poland on Military Contacts

*LD2104181693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Video report from Minsk by correspondent Aleksey Zhuk—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Polish National Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, who arrived in Minsk today on an official visit, laid a wreath at the monument in Victory Square. He paid homage to the partisans who died during the struggle against fascism in the Second World War.

Receiving the military delegation, Belarus Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich spoke about the essence of the decision recently adopted by parliament on Belarus joining the collective security system of the CIS countries. He noted that this will in no way reflect on relations with neighboring countries, including Poland.

Following talks with Belarus Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy, an agreement was signed between the military departments of Poland and Belarus on bilateral contacts. It was deemed necessary to work out annual plans for such contacts in the military sphere. The ministers described the meeting as confidential and useful.

Poland's national defense minister was also received today by Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

### NATO Inspections Seen as 'Costly' Hardship for Military

*WS2104121693 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1601 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Of the more than 30 inspection teams from practically all NATO countries and other European states, there has been none like the one that arrived in Belarus on 20 April. The Belarusian military are now referring to these inspections as "regular visits," meaning that they have been occurring more and more frequently. These inspections, the result of military treaties signed by Gorbachev and ratified by Belarusian lawmakers, are overtly aimed at keeping NATO's finger on the pulse of the young national Armed Forces.

The delegation that arrived on 20 April on the basis of the Vienna agreement—which stipulates that any signatory can inspect any selected territory three times a year—is composed of four experts and headed by British Colonel Anthony Davidson.

The Belarusian military are facing a tough task because the British experts have expressed their desire to inspect an area within the perimeter of Molodechno, Uzda, Slutsk, Beshenkovchi, Ushachi, and Bobruysk. This region is larger than many European countries. The Belarusian Ministry of Defense will have to provide transportation and liaison for the inspecting side, including liaison planes to communicate with all areas within the inspection site. All this is being done at the expense of Belarusian taxpayers.

A BELINFORM correspondent has been told by General Viktor Vakar, chief of the National Agency for Control and Inspections, that the British have not announced the reason for such a large-scale inspection. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will have to make inquiries about it. Otherwise, other costly visits may follow, because the Vienna agreement envisions the compulsory nature of such inspections, regardless of the motives put forward by the inspecting side.

In Gen. Vakar's firm belief, the British inspection will not turn up any violations of the treaties signed by Belarus, including the Vienna agreement, because the Belarusian Army has not held any large-scale maneuvers that would require preliminary notification and regulation.

## Kazakhstan

### Officials Blame Recession on Lack of Power Structure

*LD2004185393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1608 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatyev]

[Text] Alma-Ata April 20 TASS—"The Kazakh social-economic situation is gradually deteriorating. People's protest and despair may replace patience and wisdom," is the opinion of ex-members of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Committee on Economic Reform and current head of the state Anti-Monopoly Committee Petr Svoik and head of the Main Tax Inspection Marat Ospanov.

Their interview was published today by the republican KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper.

A major reason for the production recession and price increase is "not specific structures or officials, but the very power system," they said. In the officials' opinion, Kazakhstan has no actual division of power, since it has no permanent parliament.

"It is hard to find a single deputy, who is independent from the executive power. They are lobbyists as regards the legislative body, since the deputies consider each bill depending on its use for their permanent employment.

"The parliament wraps up in insignificant law-making, putting aside the solution of major issues. It is high time for the Supreme Soviet to resign after the soonest adoption of a progressive law 'on elections'. Quicker reforms in the executive power are also necessary, since this power branch does not accept any control on the part of law-makers, especially in the financial sphere," said the officials.

They insist "on legislative registration of sovereign Kazakhstan's adherence to the economic and political union with Russia and other Commonwealth states, as well as its readiness to create joint plenipotentiary power and management bodies on a set of common issues".

### Second U.S. Medical Aid Consignment Arrives

*LD2004131993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0955 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Atyrau April 20 TASS—A U.S. plane with a large consignment of medicines on board has arrived in Atyrau (former Guryev). This is the second American plane to bring such humanitarian aid to Kazakhstan. The first one landed a week ago in the airport of Alma-Ata. The second plane has brought to Atyrau 14 tonnes of various medicines and medical equipment worth more than one million U.S. dollars.

The aid was delivered to the population of Atyrau region in accordance with the "Hope" project—the U.S. President's and the "Chevron" oil company's medical initiative. The "Chevron" company recently set up a powerful joint-stock "Tengiz Chevroil" enterprise in Kazakhstan.

### Government Agrees to Cultural Exchanges With Iran

*LD1604202493 Tehran IRNA in English 1536 GMT 16 Apr 93*

[Text] Moscow, April 16, IRNA—The Islamic Republic of Iran and the newly independent Republic of Kazakhstan on Friday agreed on diversifying cultural exchanges between the two countries, it was said in the wake of meetings in Alma-Ata between Iran's Culture and Islamic Guidance Minister 'Ali Larijani and Kazakh officials.

The Iranian minister arrived in Alma-Ata for a two-day visit Thursday night at the head of a delegation.

On Friday Larijani conferred with the Kazakh Education Minister Rakhmandiyev Erkegali [name as received] and they both agreed to nominate a week in the capitals of the two countries for culture activities. The first culture-week of Kazakhstan is to be offered in Tehran next June.

Larijani and the Kazakh Minister of Sports and International Tourism Karatay Turysov agreed to take action for eliminating the stumbling blocks in the tourism organizations of both countries as a device for promoting mutual tourism between Iran and Kazakhstan.

The Iranian minister also conferred with Kazakh Minister for Press and News Media Altynbek Sarsenbayev and agreed on the establishment of regional bureaus of their respective news agencies in Alma-Ata and Tehran, and the establishment of permanent book exhibitions in Tehran and Alma-Ata, and the participation at Tehran international book expos of publishers in Kazakhstan.

The Iranian delegates are to proceed to Kyrgyz Republic in the second step of their tour of Central Asian states.

## Kyrgyzstan

### President, Parliament Struggle Over Power; Russian Speakers Departing

*PM2004121593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 2*

[Report by correspondent K. Bayalinov: "Chingiz Aytmatov Excommunicated From His Motherland..."]

[Text] Bishkek—What was being mentioned at every step in the corridors has come to pass. The Supreme Soviet has embarked on open confrontation with the president and executive power, as happened in Russia several weeks ago. It is true that in contrast to Russia the Kyrgyz speaker acted on the president's side.

The parliamentarians almost changed the presidential form of rule for the parliamentary form, trying to deprive the president of the lion's share of his powers. The present session brought many surprises. Counter to the aspirations of 1 million people, Russian did not become the language of interethnic communication although the Constitution stipulates that, on an equal footing with other languages, it will not be subject to discrimination.

Actually the process of the Russian-speaking population's exodus from the republic is in full swing and no decisions of any kind are likely to stop this process now. Scientists and figures of culture are leaving, in brief there is a veritable "brain drain." A catalyst of this process will obviously be the decision of the parliamentarians banning dual citizenship. According to the law one of their most respected fellow countrymen will be deprived of Kyrgyz citizenship—Chingiz Aytmatov, Russian ambassador to Luxembourg—as will thousands of other people working and living in Moscow, Siberia, Israel, and Ukraine.

The session again raised the question of the legality of the ban on the Communist Party's activity. In the opinion of the Communists' leaders Akayev's 31 August 1991 decision is anticonstitutional and requires a legal assessment while the question of the bolsheviks' property should be examined by the court. Under pressure from parliamentarians who obviously sympathize with the Communists, this question was put on the session's agenda.

The session also touched on the subject of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict. Meanwhile by a majority of votes the question "of denouncing Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan" was not included on the agenda. The parliamentarians decided that it is still too early to interfere in these sovereign states' relations.

And one last piece of news which is not the week's main event—the Supreme Soviet session. If matters proceed at their present pace then by September every provincial little town in Kyrgyzstan will have its own university. That is assisted by edicts of the president on the opening of ever new higher educational establishments. A paradoxical situation is arising: The worse the material situation becomes and the fewer teachers there are, the more students there are. So, you see, by the year 2000 the Kyrgyz will become the most educated nation in the world. Although these diplomas will obviously only be of value only in Kyrgyzstan.

### Government, Trade Unions Sign Stabilization Agreement

*LD2004205193 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] An agreement signed by the government and the trade unions of Kyrgyzstan is aimed at stabilizing the socio-political situation and protecting the interests of the working people. As was reported at the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of this Central Asian republic, the document will be in force until the end of this year.

## Tajikistan

### Rakhmanov Praises Russia, Uzbekistan for Aid Against Rebels

*NC2204063593 Paris AFP in English 0157 GMT 22 Apr 93*

[Report by Nadira Artykova]

[Text] Dushanbe, April 22 (AFP) - Tajikistan's pro-communist leader Imamali Rakhmanov sees Russia and Uzbekistan as key allies in the fight against Islamic rebels in the troubled Central Asian republic.

The 40-year old economist who last November took power in the capital of Dushanbe after the short-lived reign of an Islamic- Democrat coalition government told AFP that at least 10,000 people died in months of bloody fighting last year.

Other officials have estimated the death toll to be as high as 50,000, in particular in light of the crackdown that followed the communist return to power in November.

Russian troops stationed on the border between Afghanistan and Tajikistan have been preventing armed Islamic rebels from crossing into Tajikistan from Afghanistan where they fled in the aftermath of the pro-communist take-over.

"Clashes with Afghan fighters on the border are a weekly occurrence and Tajik fundamentalists are engaged in it," Rakhmanov said.

"If there is a violation, even a small one, we inform all military structures and Moscow immediately," he added.

The Tajik leader also said Uzbekistan had sent troops to mount an anti-aircraft defence although Uzbek President Islam Karimov has maintained that he had not sent any Uzbek units to Tajikistan.

"We have a very special relationship with Uzbekistan," Rakhmanov said. "Uzbekistan rescued us from the death blow."

The Tajik leader also voiced support for Russian President Boris Yeltsin who faces a vote of confidence in his presidency in Sunday's [25 April] nationwide referendum.

"We are very concerned," said Rakhmanov. "Everything here depends on Russia."

"For the time being, we have very good relations with Russia and the results of the referendum will affect us whether we want it or not."

Russia and Uzbekistan have both maintained that the fighting in the Central Asian country of 5.2 million threatened the stability of the entire region and leaders have expressed concern in particular with the continual flow of arms and drugs from Afghanistan into Tajikistan.

Rakhmanov said that customs officers recently confiscated at the Dushanbe airport 25 kilograms of hashish contained in four crates that were headed to Saint Petersburg and Moscow.

He added that instability in Afghanistan and Kabul's inability to control factions in the northern provinces were preventing Tajik refugees from returning home.

"All refugees want to come back," he added.

Rakhmanov said his government had arranged the return of 500,000 refugees in the past months and that each family received 100,000 (125 U.S. dollars) to resettle.

### Rakhmanov Expresses Condolences on Ozal's Death

*LD2004195593 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Excerpt] Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, today visited the Turkish embassy in Tajikistan to express his condolences on the death of Turgut Ozal, president of the Republic of Turkey, to His Excellency Orhan Erdivani, the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Tajikistan.

Rakhmanov said that a delegation from the Republic of Tajikistan headed by (Khediraliyev), deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, has left for Turkey to take part in the funeral of Turgut Ozal. [passage omitted]

### Supreme Soviet Presidium Discusses Financial Matters

*LD2104133993 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Russian 0300 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] A regular session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, chaired by Imamali Rakhmanov, has taken place. It examined personnel issues. Bills on investment activities in the Republic of Tajikistan, on insurance in the Republic of Tajikistan, and on the taxation of profits arising from insurance activities submitted by the Council of Ministers were examined and sent for finalizing to the relevant committees of the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a resolution on auditing the financial and management activities of the national bank of the Republic of Tajikistan during 1992 and the first quarter of 1993. With this aim in mind, a commission has been formed headed by Tukhtaboy Gafarov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet committee on economics and economic reforms, and a program was approved.

## Turkmenistan

### Swedish Foreign Minister Meets Officials

*LD2104114193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1056 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat April 21 TASS—"We did not expect to witness such a strong will to implement economic reforms in Turkmenistan," ITAR-TASS was told by Swedish Foreign Minister, Chairman of the CSCE Council Margaretha Af Ugglas, who is currently on a fact-finding tour of the central asian region.

Ugglas believes that democratic transformations are possible if they proceed paralelled to economic reforms. In this respect, Turkmenistan, which is taking bold and vigorous steps to reform the economy in keeping with world tendencies, is making a contribution to the shaping of a specific model of democracy, which differs in some ways from the Western pattern, but is quite effective and worthy of note from the point of view of a new neopolitical approach.

Ugglas met Turkmenian President Saparmurad Niyazov, members of the cabinet of ministers he heads, and leaders of the parliament. The sides have agreed to open in Vienna, where the CSCE headquarters is located, a mission of Turkmenistan and also to connect it to the overall CSCE information network. Agreement was reached on the further terms of Turkmenistan's participation in the all-European process within the frameworks of the CSCE regional programme, which is now in the making.

### Republic Plans To Adopt Latin Alphabet

*LD1604054493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1550 GMT 15 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat, April 15 (TASS)—A new alphabet of the Turkmen language, based on Latin not cyrillic letters, was approved here by a decree signed by Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov. It will take effect as of January 1, 1996. This interval was fixed to make the population get used to the new alphabet, elaborated by the Turkmenian Academy of Sciences. Linguists have worked hard on the alphabet before the decree was issued. It was broadly discussed in the republic.

Transition to a Latin alphabet, it is believed here, will contribute to the strengthening of the Turkmenistan state's independence, to the further promotion of its relations with the world's developed countries. Many arguments are being adduced in favour of the new alphabet. Some people claim that it is best fitted for mastering the latest world tendencies in informatics and helps to learn English and other foreign languages much faster than now. They believe this is a basic precondition for Turkmenistan's integration into the world community. Local linguists claim that the Latin alphabet helps reproduce more exactly some phonetic peculiarities of the Turkmenian language. This was confirmed by written tests carried out in the period from 1928 to 1940.

However, there were apprehensions that one more alphabetic reform in Turkmenistan, which will be the third since the beginning of the century, may be fraught with new material and spiritual drawbacks. The final decision was made by the Turkmenian parliament, which approved the presidential decree on the new alphabet during its latest session.

## Uzbekistan

### Karimov Receives Swedish Envoy, Comments on CIS

*LD1704163893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Apr 93*

[Video report by correspondent Shakhnoza Ganiyeva; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] This morning, before his flight to Minsk, President Islam Karimov received Mr. Oerjan Berner, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Sweden to the Republic of Uzbekistan, who presented his credentials to the head of the Uzbek state. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Ganiyeva] Uzbekistan is swiftly developing its relations with the countries of western Europe. Nevertheless, what are you expecting from the meeting in Minsk today?

[Karimov] During the period of its existence the CIS has adopted 270 documents, but only a small proportion—it is hard to say which proportion—of those documents are in force today. Therefore, in this form, as it is at the moment, the CIS is generally ineffectual. It has exhausted itself. Either the CIS should create a mechanism, an effective mechanism capable of getting the adopted decisions implemented, or this forum has in itself exhausted its possibilities. That is, I was and still am in favor of the CIS, but the CIS has to work. [end recording]

### Swiss Finance Minister Visits, Signs Two Economic Accords

*LD1604203693 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1700 GMT 16 Apr 93*

[Text] Switzerland has signed two accords with the former Soviet Central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan. The Swiss Finance Minister, Otto Stich, signed the accords on economic cooperation and investment protection in the Uzbek capital Tashkent on the third leg of his tour of the former Soviet Central Asian Republics.

### President Criticizes, Replaces Local Leaders

*LD1604154193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0802 GMT 16 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alfred Baranov]

[Text] Tashkent, 16 Apr—When a leader starts to put personal aims and ambitions above common interests, then the people no longer need him, Uzbek President Islam Karimov said in Termez to deputies of Surkha-Darya Oblast. His speech was published in the parliamentary newspaper NARODNOYE SLOVO today.

The president was acutely critical of the situation in Uzbekistan's southernmost and prosperous oblast. An abnormal moral and psychological situation has developed there because of violations of the norms of social justice, and because of rigid planning and nepotism in selecting cadres, and because of a lack of principle on the part of the heads of administrative and law- enforcement bodies. There had been a noticeable slump in the economy and a growth in crime. Acting on a proposal by the president, the people's deputies released former heads of the oblast from their posts and endorsed a new head of the oblast administration.

This year heads of administration have been replaced in five out of 12 oblasts in Uzbekistan.

## Azerbaijan

### Elchibey Flies to Ankara for Ozal's Funeral

*LD2004170793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1519 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[By an AZERTAC correspondent]

[Text] Baku April 20 TASS—President Abulfaz Elchibey of Azerbaijan left for Ankara by a special flight today to attend the funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

### Declares 'State of Mourning' for Ozal

*NC2104185093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 21 Apr 93*

["Text" of President Abulfaz Elchibey's decree declaring a state of mourning in Azerbaijan, issued on 21 April—read by announcer]

[Text] A state of mourning is hereby declared in Azerbaijan on 21 April 1993 in connection with the funeral ceremony for President Turgut Ozal, who made a special effort to contribute to the recognition of an independent Azerbaijan, the defense of our people's just cause, and the establishment of a democratic society in the Turkic world.

### Official Denies Rumors on Joining CIS

*LD2004175893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1713 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Moscow, 20 April (ITAR-TASS)—"Azerbaijan is not joining and will not join the CIS," Vafo Gulazade, state adviser to the republican president on foreign political issues, said in an interview with the Ekho Moskvy radio station. He described as lies the recent rumors on the republic possibly joining the Commonwealth. In his words, the Azerbaijan leadership will not deviate from its principles.

### CSCE Observers Arrive in Nagorno-Karabakh

*LD2104131393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1210 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—An advance group of observers from CSCE continues surveying the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. The group is headed by Finnish Colonel Hekke Hepponen. Six observers arrived in Stepanakert on Tuesday evening from Azerbaijan's Agdam district. They crossed the frontline on foot. Under the plan of the Minsk group of CSCE to prepare a conference on Nagorno-Karabakh, they are to prepare the arrival of 600 international observers in the zone of the conflict.

Representatives of CSCE conducted negotiations with leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh and with the command of the Nagorno-Karabakh defence army, ITAR-TASS was told over the telephone by representatives of the information and press department of Nagorno- Karabakh. Technical problems of accomodating observers and supplying them with means of communication were discussed. Guarantees of immunity of observers and supplying them with the necessary military information will be an important problem at the negotiations.

The specific deadline for the arrival of the main group of international observers has not yet been discussed. It is clear, however, that in accordance with international rules for peacemaking activities, they can arrive in the conflict zone only after the ceasefire begins to operate.

The Karabakh side has confirmed its intention to begin negotiations with Azerbaijan's leaders for immediate ceasefire. It pointed out that the Karabakh self-defence forces had unilaterally stopped offensive operations.

The advance party of observers on Wednesday left for the area of hostilities, specifically, for the zone of the Lachin corridor. It is said in Stepanakert that this is the first group of international observers and peace-makers to stay in that troubled area longer than one day. The group headed by Colonel Hepponen intends to work in Nagorno-Karabakh for two more days.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and on its borders with Azerbaijan remains tense, there are local clashes and skirmishes, fire is opened on frontier posts, observers learnt from the headquarters of the Nagorno-Karabakh defence army. There were no large-scale operations on Wednesday, but infantry and armoured units of the Azeri Army are being concentrated on the border of the Martuni and Gadrut districts.

### Nakhichevan's Aliyev Seeks Further Iranian Aid

*LD2104131793 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Gaydar Aliyev, the president of the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan, once again thanked the great leader of the Islamic Revolution for his kindness in donating food to that republic and asked for the help to continue.

The political and security director general of western Azarbaijan, who had gone to Nakhichevan two days ago at the head of a delegation of Interior Ministry officials, said in an interview on his return today: At a meeting with the president of Nakhichevan, while expressing his gratitude to the great leader of the revolution and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the special attention they have paid to the Muslim people of Nakhichevan, Mr. Aliyev stressed that the donations by the great leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran have given hope to the people of Nakhichevan.

The political director general of western Azarbaijan governorate- general pointed out: The bread-baking unit donated to the Sharur region in Nakhichevan is still in operation and supplies an important portion of the bread requirements of the people.

He said: The border common market in the Sanambolaghi is open three days a week and local peddlers are continuing to exchange goods with tradesmen from Nakhichevan and Sharur.

### Interior Minister Addresses Assembly on State of Emergency

*NC2104183593 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] The Azerbaijan National Assembly held a regular meeting today. Interior Minister General Abdullah Allakhverdiyev addressed the morning session on the legality of the state of emergency and the way it is being implemented.

Several speakers asked that he explain the necessity of imposing a curfew in Baku, the functions of the state of emergency [word indistinct], and other matters. General Allakhverdiyev replied to the questions in detail and explained why the state of emergency and curfew have been imposed in Baku. The National Assembly decided to consider the interior minister's briefing and to instruct the State Committee for Defense to improve several of the state of emergency rules.

Rauf Ismailov, chairman of the National Assembly Committee for Science, Education, and Religious Affairs, presented a report by his committee on the functions of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The report stressed that the television network is important to efforts to mobilize the people against aggression and inspire them with a military and patriotic spirit. It also explained the television network's resources.

The speakers who addressed the debate later expressed several views on the network's newscasts and social and political programs. Mamed Ismail, chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, took the floor and explained the changes that have been carried out in the network's internal structure in the past few months. He also outlined what the network has done in the current conditions in the republic.

The National Assembly adopted a decision to improve the television network. The deputies later debated and approved a bill on [words indistinct]. They also approved a bill for additions and changes in the budget system.

### Press Service Says Armenia Using Lull To Redeploy Forces

*LD2104184993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1744 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By AZERTAJ correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku April 21 TASS—"Armenia is using a temporary lull established as a result of an agreement on ceasefire in connection with the arrival of a group of CSCE observers in Nagorno- Karabakh, to re-station its forces in the conflict zone," the press service of the Azeri president said on Wednesday.

A statement by the press service circulated by AZERTAJ on the same day, said that the command of the Armenian Armed Forces reinforced its troops in a number of border areas between the two Caucasian republics.

The press service reported that a large Armenian formation equipped by armoured carriers, appeared in the vicinity of Fizuli and Lanchin, administrative centres of the Fizulin and Lachin regions south-west of Azerbaijan. With reference to the defence headquarters of Geranboi region, situated beyond mountainous regions of Nagorno-Karabakh, it was reported that formations of the Armenian Army had attempted to seize a big settlement of Gallustan.

For this purpose, Armenian paratroopers are being airlifted there. During fighting on Tuesday night four soldiers of the Azeri army were wounded there, the same source said.

## Georgia

### Shevardnadze-Kitovani Conflict Said To Threaten Military Coup

*PM2004202793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1, 2*

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Shevardnadze Government Currently Facing Its Most Dangerous Threat Since Coming to Power"]

[Text] Recent events in Georgia testify that the covert confrontation between Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze and Tengiz Kitovani, the country's defense minister, is entering a new phase of open opposition and threatens to embroil the republic in a new, bloodier spiral of civil war.

It has become known from reliable sources close to the leadership of Georgia's intelligence information service that Tengiz Kitovani held a meeting 18 April in the city of Gali, 30 km east of Abkhazia's Ochamchirskiy Rayon, where hostilties are in progress between Georgian government forces and Abkhazian partisan formations, with leaders of Galskiy and Ochamchirskiy Rayons, with the participation of leaders of local police and security service departments. Also present at this meeting was Russian State Security General Georgiy Pipiya.

At this meeting Kitovani stated that Shevardnadze should resign, in effect accusing him of betraying the country's interests. "I brought him back to Georgia, and I will make him leave," Kitovani said. "I have sufficient forces to do this, because the Army is entirely on my side." The Georgian defense minister described the other power structures—the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Intelligence Information Service—as "a gang of kids, retards, and drug addicts" with whom it would cost him nothing to settle scores. He also threatened to dissolve parliament and disband the law-enforcement organs and paramilitary structures in Ajaria, whose leaders are conducting a policy fairly independent of Tbilisi.

The seriousness of Kitovani's intentions is also indicated by his fairly close contacts in recent times with Loti Kobaliya, commander of the armed formations of supporters of Georgia's former president, the de facto master of the situation in the city of Zugdidi and the greater part of Mingrelia—historically West Georgia Province—where Eviad Gamsakhurdia was born and where the former president enjoys great popularity. In particular, movie director Georgiy Khaindrava, former state minister for Abkhazia stated, two weeks ago he chanced to meet Tengiz Kitovani in Ochamchira accompanied by Loti Kobaliya and Georgiy Pipiya: An accord was due to be reached for Kobaliya's detachments to link up with Georgian troops fighting in Abkhazia. True, in Khaindrava's words, he was surprised by the fact General Georgiy Pipiya—a Russian state security general—was present at this meeting.

Subsequently Kitovani together with Kobaliya mobilized Mingrelia and put around 3,000 men under arms. However, no one has yet been sent to Abkhazia. Moreover, an antigovernment rally and a parade of military formations were held 9 April among Gamsakhurdia's supporters. All these actions, in Khaindrava's opinion, were directed against the present Georgian Government. In conjunction with these actions Gamsakhurdia's supporters in Tbilisi have been galvanized. In recent days they have held small but fairly noisy rallies in the capital, during which leaders of the disbanded "Roundtable"—the ruling political organization under Gamzakhurdia's regime—repeatedly stated that "soon the day of judgment will come for Sheverdnadze's junta."

The resignation of General Paata Datuashvili, commander of the Georgian Army's Second Corps, is also being linked with the political games around a possibly imminent military coup. This is the corps fighting in Abkhazia, and with the arrival there of Datuashvili—a neutral person and a good military specialist—the combat capability of Georgian troops rose considerably. Now Ucha Kviraya—Kitovani's man—has been appointed to this post. Many consider it another bad omen that many members of the "Mhedrioni" organization have been recalled from the combat zone in the Ochamchira region on an unconvincing pretext (to be awarded combat medals)—the organization's leader Dzaba Ioseliani, who is also a member of the Georgian parliament and Shevardnaze's first deputy in the National Security and Defense Council, is the Georgian leader's most consistent supporter and political partner.

The thrust of recent events, one high-ranking Georgian intelligence officer who wishes to remain anonymous, stated in conversation with me, lies in the fact that certain political forces in Georgia and Russia are committed to removing Shevardnadze—an independent politician with great international prestige, to whose opinion the world listens. They are keenly aware that, with the departure of Shevardnadze from the Georgian political stage, it will be superfluous to talk of Georgia as an independent political entity fulfilling its function in an explosive and geopolitically very important region of the world. In effect it will mean the loss of even the extremely qualified independence which it possesses today. At the same time Shevardnadze's removal, in the source's words, is possible only given the Georgian side's loss of Sukhumi, which could create massive unrest in the rest of Georgia. He claims that it is precisely this scenario which is being played out. At the same time he refuses to comment on the accusations of some Georgian politicians directed at Kitovani. They claim that he is closely linked with Russia's special services.

Such charges are increasingly being heard in the the lobbies of parliament. Georgiy Chanturiya, leader of the national democrats, voiced this charge publicly, but Kitovani categorically denied it and confirmed his loyalty to Shevardnadze, calling him "the only salvation for Georgia," and pledged that he would never oppose this man.

Sheverdnadze himself has always stressed that there are no serious disagreements between himself and the minster of defense. Moreover, he insisted that the post of defense minster was not confirmed in parliament, knowing that Kitovani's candidacy would not be approved. He promised parliament that he would decide this question within three months. Since then five months have passed. Everything remains as before. Shevardnadze's supporters explained this by the fact that the Georgian leader does not want to initiate new military clashes in Tbilisi or a repeat of the events of December-January last year, when Gamsakhurdia was overthrown. So far he has made no comment on Kitovani's recent statements, but this time, it would appear, he will not manage to keep silent. Now it is clear—the strange game behind the scenes in the upper echelons of Georgia's organs of power is nearer its denouement.

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### Ioseliani: Subunits Withdrawn From Ochamchira

*LD2104162593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Subunits of the Georgian Mkhedrioni militarized organization have been withdrawn from Ochamchira Rayon, Abkhazia. According to its leader, Jaba Ioseliani, deputy chairman of the Georgian National Security and Defense Council, this is linked to the fact that the fighters need a short rest.

In an interview for Georgian television, Ioseliani said that over the past few days units of Mkhedrioni have closed in on the town of Tkvarcheli, which has been held by the Abkhazians, but they were not given an order to storm the town. We believe, Ioseliani said, that there is no need to shed any more blood. The Abkhazians are already prepared to lay down their arms, but they are demanding firm guarantees. In his opinion, further talks will be fruitful and the war will end, but for the time being the Mkhedrioni subunits have been replaced by units formed in west Georgia.

### Abkhazian Artillery Shells Sukhumi

*LD2104192593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1840 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shegoleva]

[Text] Sochi April 21 (TASS)—Sukhumi came under heavy shelling from Abkhazian artillery on Wednesday. About 15 shells exploded in residential districts of the city, killing a woman and a child, ITAR-TASS learned by telephone on Wednesday from the press centre of Georgian Armed Forces stationed in Abkhazia.

According to the press-service, Sukhumi is frequently being bombarded by the Abkhazian side in return for shelling Abkhazian armed formations and the Russian military laboratory in Nizhniye Eshery by Georgian formations.

To cease the shelling of the city, the command of the Second Corps of Georgian armed formations stationed in Abkhazia appealed to the command of a group of Russian troops stationed in Abkhazia and suggested taking measures ruling out the possibility of shelling the Russian laboratory.

The Georgian side suggested demarcating the territory of the laboratory and a surrounding area at a distance of 500 meters from it with white flags illuminated at night and establishing a system of efficient control if the shelling of the laboratory was resumed. The Russian side has not responded to the proposal yet.

According to latest reports from the Abkhazian Defence Ministry, the Georgian side is concentrating its forces in the area of the settlements of Labra, Baslakhu, Pokwash, ITAR-TASS learned from the Sochi headquarters of Abkhazian refugees.

### Sigua Criticized for 'Softness' at Sochi Talks

*MK2104144893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 3*

[Nodar Broladze report under "Georgia" rubric: "Parliamentarians Slate Tengiz Sigua for Being Soft at Sochi Talks. Try it Yourselves, Premier Says"]

[Text] The Republic of Georgia parliament will resume its session on 22 April, and in the two days before that the legislators will work in the quiet of their offices and will possibly take a short breather after the stormy debate. Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua, who headed the government delegation at the Sochi talks, had to deliver a report and, of course, this moment was eagerly awaited by those parliamentarians who had proposed their own remedies to the delegation that went to Sochi. At that time it was not possible to discuss the drafts in detail. Prior to his departure Sigua stated that, if he was going to be unable to agree on military questions, everything should be done to ensure that trade and economic agreements would not suffer because of that. "In the civilized world it is not good form to make trade and the economy dependent on political problems, but the Russian side is insisting on a comprehensive solution, therefore complications cannot be ruled out," Sigua warned in the parliamentary session, hinting at inevitable compromises. Accordingly it should have been realized that a tough approach in the present conditions was unacceptable, especially as the Georgian delegation's position looked resolute enough as it was. Nevertheless, the drafts that had been prepared beforehand contained ultimatum demands. One of them, for example, proposed demanding the withdrawal of troops from Abkhazia without preliminary conditions. "Charter-91" leader Tedo Paatashvili considered it advisable to appeal to the Russian president with a request to begin the troop withdrawal even before 15 April, and in the event of refusal parliament was to adopt a document that would give part of Abkhazia's territory the status of an occupied territory. After his return from Sochi Sigua had to endure a hail of reproaches from parliamentarians who remained of the same opinion. Irakliy Tsereteli, chairman of the Party for Georgia's National Independence, as always did not pull any punches in his comments, while Tamriko Chkheidze, who heads the Chavchavadze Society, spoke heatedly about the softness of the delegation and its position. Eduard Shevardnadze, who found it disagreeable to observe the overexcited deputies, stated that it was improper to put a person up against a wall and hurl a tirade of reproaches and accusations at him, especially unfounded ones. Sigua suggested that next time the deputies who did not agree with him should go to the talks themselves: "Let us see with what achievements you return from there." The head of government considers the talks useful in principle, but he is clearly dissatisfied with their results. From his viewpoint, however, it is still impossible to do without gradual and stage-by-stage progress.

The situation in Georgia is complicated by the opposition's increasing activeness. The Georgian political leadership is awaiting the referendum in Russia, after which it will be able to determine its political bearings and practical actions more clearly.

### Abkhazian Parliament Speaker Ardzinba Interviewed

*MK2104094493 Moscow DEN in Russian No. 15, 18-24 Apr 93 p 4 (Signed to Press 15 Apr)*

[Interview with Vladislav Grigoryevich Ardzinba, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, by Igor Zasyadko; place and date not given: "Vladislav Ardzinba: 'Abkhazia Will Not Be Beaten!'"]

[Text] The chief of security, completely inaccessible, warned us in advance that there would be no interview. "Come to Gudauta and sign up for an appointment. There we will search you and everything will be okay."

The boss, however, proved to be much easier than his bodyguard and agreed to have a short meeting at the military headquarters of the Confederation of North Caucasus Peoples.

[Zasyadko] What do you think might happen to Abkhazia in the near future, assuming things go well: Will it become a democratic republic with a guarantee of equal rights for the indigenous and nonindigenous populations?

[Ardzinba] I think that the ongoing democratic processes on the territory of the former Soviet Union should also affect Abkhazia and Abkhazian statehood.

[Zasyadko] How long will Abkhazia wait for Russia to clarify its position in the Abkhaz-Georgian war?

[Ardzinba] The question should not be put so bluntly. It should be said that there are the closest economic and political as well as cultural links involved here, based on the common origin of the peoples, and there was also a considerable period, nearly 150 years, when Abkhazia and Russia were together. The 70 years of Soviet rule also did not pass without a trace. We need to talk about preserving the links between Abkhazia and Russia.

[Zasyadko] Will you take part in all the programs of the Confederation of North Caucasus Peoples?

[Ardzinba] It needs to be understood that this is not a confederation of republics but a confederation of peoples—a public movement based on common origins, on common ties. It emerged following the 1989 events in Abkhazia as an organization to support the peoples of Abkhazia who had fallen victim to genocide. There are no encroachments on the integrity of Russian statehood here.

[Zasyadko] Recently Gyuneyt Tezsezen [as transliterated], head of a delegation of representatives of the Abkhaz diaspora in Turkey, said that the Abkhaz in Turkey are ready to call to arms 10,000 professional soldiers. This does not include over 1 million Abkhaz scattered throughout the world....

[Ardzinba] There is no such need. Today everything depends on the army's level of equipment and combat capability and not on the number of servicemen. The Peoples of the North Caucasus are ready to come to our assistance. The most important thing for us is that there are very many Russian volunteers from Moscow and Leningrad. They are fighting with us shoulder to shoulder. This goes to show that broad sections of the public understand the problems and are ready to help a small people that has found itself in trouble.

[Zasyadko] Do you, as a politician, have any program for today?

[Ardzinba] We are expecting Georgia to confirm that it has renounced the policy of exterminating the people of Abkhazia, the policy of forcing all the non-Georgia population from the territory of Abkhazia, and also to recognize Abkhazian statehood. This can be confirmed by the withdrawal of all Georgian troops from the territory of Abkhazia. If the troops are not pulled out, we shall continue our holy war until Abkhazia is liberated.

[Zasyadko] What measures are you expecting from Russia?

[Ardzinba] We want Russia, with which we have coexisted within the framework of a single state, as a great power, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, to get Georgia to stop using force in resolving outstanding issues in relations between the republics. Russia should ensure that Georgia renounces a forcible approach to the Abkhaz problem. Abkhazia is waiting.... How has Russia always solved such problems? It created a federation, by concluding a federation treaty. This is a normal, civilized way of resolving problems.

At the same time, Hitler and Mussolini are infants compared with Gogi Shevardnadze.

[Zasyadko] Everybody we have met in Abkhazia is convinced that Russia could have prevented this slaughterhouse with a single phone call from the president.

[Ardzinba] Russia could have prevented it much earlier. Most regrettably, were it not for the tacit consent of Russia's top officials, the State Council troops would hardly have moved into Abkhazia. If the armaments of the former Soviet Army had not been transferred to Georgia, its troops would hardly have dared to unleash this kind of carnage.

I have the following information (although it needs confirmation): In our country, in Ochamchira, there is a brigade of marine border guards, and there are reports that three coast guard ships have been transferred to Georgia. These ships will appear near Sukhumi and start shooting tomorrow. In the absence of our own naval forces any battleship poses a threat to us.

[Zasyadko] Marine border guards are complaining about the actions of the Abkhaz coast guard; Nevka-type armed cutters are trying to search ships sailing under the Russian flag in neutral waters; moreover Abkhazia has adopted no legislation on responsibility regarding several naval incidents. I mean the incidents with the Podvodnik, the dry cargo vessel Volgo-Balt, and the ship Gagra. This list could be continued. The Russian coast guard regards these as acts of piracy.

[Ardzinba] I do not think that there are any grounds for this. There is a war going on. The enemy is using the sea to transfer forces and weapons. We search only those vessels that go directly from the shores of Abkhazia. For instance, stolen goods are shipped off to be sold in Sochi. How can we possibly allow this?

This is in fact a selling-off of the property of the Republic of Abkhazia. We must and will cut this off. But the best way is to find, jointly with our coast guards, methods to ensure control and collaboration so that such incidents do not happen in the future. We must reach a joint agreement on the protection of our maritime borders.

## Parliament Issues Decree Implementing Citizenship Law

*AU1904155193 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 1*

["Decree of the Georgian Parliament on the Implementation of the Law on Georgian Citizenship" issued in Tbilisi on 25 March]

[Text] The Georgian Parliament **decrees:**

1. The Law on Georgian Citizenship comes into force upon publication.

2. To entrust the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers to elaborate and ratify by 10 April 1993:

a) The Statute "on Provisional Commissions for the Establishment of Georgian Citizenship Attached to Local Bodies of Administration";

b) The Statute "on the Procedure for Registering and Identifying the Population of Georgia";

c) The Statute "on a Georgian Citizen's Passport and an Official and Diplomatic Passport."

[Signed] Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament

[Dated] Tbilisi, 25 March 1993

## Parliament Approves Citizen's Declaration Text

*AU2004085093 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 3*

["Decree of the Georgian Parliament on the Text of the Declaration of the Georgian Citizen" issued in Tbilisi on 25 March]

[Text] In connection with the adoption of the Law on Georgian Citizenship, the Georgian Parliament **decrees:**

To approve the text of the declaration of the Georgian citizen:

I—————————, becoming a citizen of the Republic of Georgia, recognize and will observe its Constitution and laws, the country's [territorial] integrity, and sovereignty and authority of the state, recognize the Georgian language as the state language, and respect Georgian culture and traditions.

**Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament**

Tbilisi, 25 March 1993

## Law on Georgian Citizenship Published

*AU2004084093 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 3*

["Republic of Georgia Law on Georgian Citizenship" issued in Tbilisi on 25 March]

[Text] We are publishing the text of the law received by the SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA editorial office at 1530 on 30 March.

Citizenship signifies a person's political and legal alliance with the Georgian state that is expressed in the unity of mutual rights and obligations and is based on respect for a person's dignity and recognition of his rights and freedoms.

This law guarantees the protection of the rights of a citizen of Georgia both within the country and outside its borders in accordance with international law and Republic of Georgia legislation.

### Chapter I

General Rules

Article 1. Single citizenship has been established in the Republic of Georgia. A citizen of Georgia cannot be simultaneously a citizen of another state.

Article 2. Right to Citizenship

In the Republic of Georgia, each person has the right to Georgian citizenship according to the rules established by this law. No one can be restricted in the right to change his citizenship except in those cases provided for by this law.

No one can be deprived of Georgian citizenship.

Article 3. A Citizen of Georgia

A citizen of Georgia is:

a) a person who has been permanently resident in Georgia no less than five years and who has been residing there up to the day on which this law comes into force, who has not refused in written form Georgian citizenship within three months and who has received documents confirming his citizenship within four months [of the passing of this law];

b) a person who has acquired Georgian citizenship in accordance with this law.

Article 4. Equality of Georgian Citizens

Georgian citizens are equal before the law irrespective of their origins, social and property status, race and nationality, sex, education, language, faith and political convictions, occupation, place of residence, and other circumstances.

Article 5. The Legal Status of Georgian Citizens

Georgian citizens are guaranteed political and socioeconomic rights recognized by Republic of Georgia legislation and international law and also personal rights and freedoms.

Georgian citizens are obliged to observe the Basic Law and other Republic of Georgia laws, safeguard the territorial integrity of the country, contribute to the strengthening of its power, and be devoted to the interests of Georgia.

Article 6. The Protection of Citizens' Rights and Legal Interests by the State

The Republic of Georgia protects the rights, freedoms, and legal interests of Georgian citizens on its territory and outside its borders.

Article 7. Preservation of Georgian Citizenship for a Person Resident Abroad

If a Georgian citizen is resident outside the borders of the republic, this does not in itself entail loss of Georgian citizenship.

Article 8. The Legal Status of Citizens of Another State and Stateless Persons

Citizens of another state and stateless persons on the territory of Georgia are obliged to respect and observe Georgian laws and rights and freedoms guaranteed to them that are provided for by the rules of international law and Georgian legislation, including the right to appeal to the court and other state bodies in order to protect their personal, property, and other rights.

Citizens of another state on the territory of Georgia have the right to seek help and protection in the diplomatic and consular representations of their country.

Article 9. The Inadmissibility of Handing Over a Georgian Citizen to Another State

A Georgian citizen cannot be handed over to another state.

## Chapter II

Acquisition of Georgian Citizenship

Article 10. The Basic Principles of Acquiring Georgian Citizenship

Georgian citizenship is acquired:

a) at birth;

b) on the basis of the adoption of Georgian citizenship (naturalization);

c) on other grounds provided for by Republic of Georgia international treaties and this law.

Article 11. Citizenship of a Child Whose Parents Are Georgian Citizens

A child, both of whose parents are Georgian citizens at his birth, is considered to be a Georgian citizen irrespective of his place of birth.

Article 12. Citizenship of a Child, One of Whose Parents Is a Georgian Citizen

Given the differing citizenship of the parents, if one of them is a Georgian citizen at the time of the birth of the child, the child is considered a Georgian citizen provided:

a) He was born on the territory of Georgia;

b) he was born outside Georgia but one of his parents has permanent residence on the territory of Georgia;

c) one of the parents is a Georgian citizen at the time of his birth while the other is a stateless person or unknown.

Given the differing citizenship of the parents, if one of them is a Georgian citizen and both are resident outside Georgia at the time of the birth of the child, the question of the citizenship of a child born outside Georgia is to be resolved on the agreement of the parents and, if the parents are unable to come to an agreement, by the legislation of the country in which the child was born.

In the event of the establishment of the paternity of a child whose mother is a stateless person but whose father is recognized as a Georgian citizen, the child becomes a Georgian citizen irrespective of his place of birth.

Article 13. Citizenship of a Child Whose Parents Are Stateless Persons

The children of stateless persons permanently resident on the territory of Georgia are Georgian citizens if they were born on the territory of Georgia.

Article 14. Citizenship of a Child Whose Parents Are Citizens of Another State

The question of the citizenship of a child born on the territory of Georgia whose parents are citizens of another state is resolved by the legislation of the corresponding country.

Article 15. Citizenship of Children Whose Parents Are Unknown

A child found on the territory of Georgia, both of whose parents are unknown, is considered as a Georgian citizen until it is established that this is not the case.

Article 16. Citizenship of a Child When Parents Change Citizenship

If both parents change citizenship, this correspondingly necessitates changing the citizenship of a child under the age of 14.

Changing the citizenship of a child aged between 14 and 18 is permitted only with his consent.

Article 17. Citizenship of a Child When One of the Parents Changes Citizenship

If one of the parents changes Georgian citizenship, the child retains Georgian citizenship provided he continues to live on Georgian territory.

If one of the parents relinquishes Georgian citizenship and takes up permanent residence outside Georgia together with a child under the age of 14, the child loses Georgian citizenship.

If one of the parents loses citizenship, this does not necessitate changing the citizenship of the child.

Article 18. Citizenship of a Child, One of Whose Parents Has Acquired Georgian Citizenship

If one of the parents acquires Georgian citizenship and the other remains a foreign citizen, the child may become a Georgian citizen on a joint petition from the parents.

If one of the parents acquires Georgian citizenship and the other remains a stateless person, the child becomes a Georgian citizen.

Article 19. The Possibility of Choosing Citizenship by a Person of Age

In the event of the differing citizenship of parents, a person who has come of age chooses the citizenship of one of the parents according to his wish.

Article 20. Acquisition of Georgian Citizenship by a Child In the Event of His Adoption

A child who is a citizen of another state or a stateless person, in the event of his adoption by Georgian citizens, becomes a Georgian citizen.

A child who is a citizen of another state, in the event of his adoption by a married couple, one of whom is a Georgian citizen and the other a citizen of another state, becomes a Georgian citizen on a joint petition from the married couple who have adopted him.

Article 21. Retention of Citizenship of a Child on His Adoption

A child who is a Georgian citizen, in the event of his adoption by foreign citizens or married couples, one of whom is a Georgian citizen and the other a foreign citizen, retains his Georgian citizenship. In this case, permission to relinquish Georgian citizenship may be granted on a petition from the couple who have adopted the child.

A child who is a Georgian citizen retains his Georgian citizenship in the event of his adoption by stateless persons or a married couple, one of whom is a Georgian citizen and the other a stateless person.

Article 22. Citizenship of a Child Who Has a Trustee or Guardian

A child who has a trustee or guardian, in the event of his parents or one of them changing Georgian citizenship, retains Georgian citizenship on a petition from the trustee or guardian.

Article 23. Citizenship of Incapacitated Persons

The citizenship of incapacitated persons is determined in accordance with the citizenship of the trustee.

Article 24. Dispute Regarding Children, Incapacitated Persons, or Partially Incapacitated Persons

A dispute between parents and trustees or guardians concerning the citizenship of the child, incapacitated persons, or partially incapacitated persons is conducted by judicial process, taking into account the interests of the child, incapacitated persons, or partially incapacitated persons.

Article 25. Georgian Citizenship During Marriage or Divorce

A Georgian citizen's marriage to or divorce from a foreign citizen or stateless person does not in itself necessitate a change in the citizenship of the married couple.

A divorce between a married couple does not necessitate a change in the citizenship of their children.

Article 26. Conditions for Granting Georgian Citizenship

In accordance with this law, Georgian citizenship may be granted to an adult foreign citizen or stateless person who:

a) has been permanently resident on the territory of Georgia during the last 10 years;

b) has a command of the Georgian or Abkhazian language according to the established minimum level;

c) knows the history and Constitution of Georgia according to the established minimum level;

d) has a place of work or some immovable property in the Republic of Georgia.

Georgian citizenship cannot be granted to a person who has been convicted for a premeditated crime that carries a prison sentence of more than three years, if the conviction has not been expunged or canceled.

A person wishing to be granted Georgian citizenship must sign the declaration of the Georgian citizen.

Article 27. Particular Conditions for Granting Georgian Citizenship

The Georgian head of state, as an exception, without observing the conditions provided for by points "a," "b," "c," and "d" of Article 26 of this law, has the right to grant Georgian citizenship to a person:

a) who has provided particular services to mankind and to Georgia through his scientific and social activities or who has a profession or qualifications that are of interest to the Republic of Georgia;

b) to whom the granting of Georgian citizenship proceeds from state interests.

Article 28. Granting of Georgian citizenship to a Person Who Has Married a Georgian Citizen

A person who has married a Georgian citizen and who has lived with him or her on the territory of Georgia during the last three years may be granted Georgian citizenship in accordance with points "b," "c," and the second part of Article 26 of this law.

Article 29. Restoration of Georgian Citizenship

Georgian citizenship may be restored to a person in accordance with this law, if his citizenship was terminated as a result of:

a) an illegal loss of citizenship;

b) relinquishment of citizenship, parents' choice—if the interested person is permanently resident in the Republic of Georgia at the time of the submission of the application and meets the requirements of points "b," "c," and the second part of Article 26 of this law.

## Chapter III

Termination of Georgian Citizenship

Article 30. Grounds for Terminating Georgian Citizenship:

a) relinquishment of Georgian citizenship

b) loss of Georgian citizenship;

c) other cases provided for by Republic of Georgia international treaties and this law.

Article 31. Relinquishment of Georgian Citizenship

A Georgian citizen has the right to relinquish Georgian citizenship. The question of relinquishing Georgian citizenship is resolved in accordance with this law.

A Georgian citizen may not be allowed to relinquish Georgian citizenship if he has unfulfilled obligations to the state or property obligations connected with the vital interests of citizens and state and public organizations and also if he has not completed his compulsory military service.

A person is not allowed to relinquish Georgian citizenship if legal action has been taken against him or if he is awaiting to serve a sentence that has come into force.

Article 32. Loss of Georgian Citizenship

In accordance with this law, a person loses Georgian citizenship if he:

a) undertakes military service in a foreign state or joins the police and organs of justice and other bodies of administration or state power of a foreign state without the permission of the relevant authorities of the Republic of Georgia;

b) is permanently resident in another state and, for an invalid reason, did not register with the consulate within two years;

c) has acquired Georgian citizenship by presenting false documents;

d) has acquired the citizenship of another state.

## Chapter IV

The Procedure for Examining and Resolving Questions of Georgian Citizenship

Article 33. Powers of the Georgian Head of State During the Resolution of Questions Concerning Citizenship

The Georgian head of state is empowered to adopt a decision:

a) on the granting of citizenship to foreign citizens and stateless persons;

b) on the restoration of Georgian citizenship;

c) on the relinquishment of Georgian citizenship;

d) on the loss of Georgian citizenship.

Article 34. Submission of an Application Concerning Questions of Georgian Citizenship

An application pertaining to the acquirement, relinquishment, and restoration of Georgian citizenship by interested persons is submitted to the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice; persons resident outside Georgia direct their application to the Georgian head of state via diplomatic representations, consular bodies, or directly.

Applications pertaining to questions of Georgian citizenship from persons under the age of 14 are submitted by their legal representatives.

Article 35. Recommendation on Loss of Georgian Citizenship

A recommendation on the loss of Georgian citizenship is submitted to the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice by the court, Procurator's Office, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With regard to Georgian citizens resident in another state, it is submitted by the corresponding diplomatic representation or consulate.

Article 36. Preliminary Examination of Questions of Georgian Citizenship

The Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice carries out a preliminary examination of applications and recommendations and prepares materials relating to questions of Georgian citizenship. A resolution on the preliminary examination of questions of citizenship is approved at [a meeting of] the board of the Ministry of Justice.

Article 37. The Adoption of a Decision on Questions of Georgian Citizenship

In the event of the approval of the application and recommendation pertaining to the acquisition, termination, and restoration of Georgian citizenship, the Georgian head of state issues an edict and, in the event of the adoption of a negative decision, he issues a directive.

Article 38. Time Limits for Examining and Adopting a Decision on Questions of Citizenship

The time limit for examining an application and recommendation and adopting a decision on questions of citizenship should not exceed one year.

Article 39. A Second Examination of an Application and Recommendation Regarding Questions of Georgian Citizenship

It is permitted to examine for the second time an application and recommendation pertaining to the acquisition, termination, and restoration of Georgian citizenship one year after the previous decision has been adopted.

Article 40. State Duty

On submitting an application regarding questions of citizenship, the applicant pays a state duty whose amount and the procedure for which are established by the Republic of Georgia Council of Ministers.

Article 41. Statute on the Procedure for Examining an Application and Recommendation Regarding Questions of Citizenship

The statute on the procedure for examining an application and recommendation regarding questions of citizenship is approved by an edict of the Georgian head of state.

Article 42. Appeal Against a Decision Regarding Questions of Citizenship

It is possible to appeal against a decision of the Georgian head of state in the Republic of Georgia Supreme Court.

Officials bear responsibility in accordance with existing legislation for a groundless refusal in examination of an application regarding questions of citizenship, violating the time period for examining an application, and other illegal actions.

## Chapter V

## Concluding Regulations

Article 43. Documents Certifying Georgian Citizenship

Georgian citizenship is confirmed by a Georgian citizen's identity card or a Georgian citizen's passport.

The citizenship of a child below the age of 16 is confirmed by his birth certificate and parents' passports or by their citizen's identity cards.

The citizenship of a child below the age of 16 whose parents are unknown is confirmed by his birth certificate.

Article 44. The Issuing of Documents Certifying Georgian Citizenship

A Georgian citizen's identity card is issued by bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

A Georgian citizen living in another state is issued with a passport by the diplomatic representation or consular body.

The procedure and conditions for processing and issuing documents certifying Georgian citizenship are determined by the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

Article 45. Establishment of an Extension to the Time Limit for a Valid Reason

In the event that a person, for a valid reason, has not refused Georgian citizenship or has not received the documents certifying citizenship within the time period established by Article 3 of this law, he is granted an extension to the time limit in accordance with the procedure established by legislation.

Article 46. The Application of International Treaties

Along with this law, Republic of Georgia international treaties are applied during the resolution of questions of Georgian citizenship.

If rules different to those provided for by this law are established by an international treaty in which the Republic of Georgia is participating, the rules of the international treaty are applied.

[Signed] Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament- head of state

Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament

[Dated] Tbilisi, 25 March 1993

## Estonia

### Parties Support U.S. Colonel as Commander in Chief Candidate

*WS2204095493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1644 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Tallinn, April 21—Different Estonian parties in the country's parliament, the Riigikogu, supported a retired US colonel Aleksander Einseln, an Estonian expatriate, presented by President Lennart Meri as a candidate to the position of Commander-in-chief of the country's Defence Forces.

Einseln met representatives of Riigikogu's factions on Wednesday.

The Estonian Coalition Party supports Einseln, the head of the party's faction in the Riigikogu, Peeter Lorents, told ETA.

The Royalist's faction leader, Kallo Kulbok, also supported his candidature.

The Moderate's faction leader, Mihkel Parnoja, agreed.

The head of the Estonian National Independence Party faction, Ants Erm, said his party was looking forward to his speedy appointment.

Einseln said upon his arrival to Estonia on Tuesday that his nomination depended on some formalities in the US after which his candidature could be discussed in the Riigikogu.

Estonia's daily papers on Wednesday reported that the US Ministry of Defence and the CIA supported his nomination while the State Department was afraid of possible protests from Russia.

Einseln (61) has experience from the Korea and Vietnam wars. He has worked in the headquarters of the US land forces. He retired in 1985.

### Velliste: Coordination of Relations With EC Established

*WS2104100393 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1746 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Tallinn, April 20—Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste said at his arrival from a meeting in Copenhagen that the main result was establishment of a regular mechanism for coordinating relations between the Baltic States and the European Community. Foreign ministers of the Baltics, Belgium, Denmark and a representative of British Foreign Ministry discussed Baltic relations with the European Community as well as Russia and other problems.

Velliste told a news conference on Tuesday that an agreement was made that the foreign ministers of six countries would have regular meetings to develop an intensive political dialogue. Representatives of the EC wish to take a closer look at the political style of the three Baltic governments, Velliste said.

The EC representatives stressed again that Russian troops should be taken out from the Baltics according to the Helsinki pact, agreeing that there has been no violation of human rights in these countries.

Serious trade problems cropped up at the meeting, concerning the banned import of agricultural products from East European countries. Estonia's export of meat and dairy products is expected to decrease 18 percent due to the ban.

### Meri, Iranian Envoy Discuss Relations

*LD2104214893 Tehran IRNA in English 1704 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Vienna, April 21, IRNA—President Lennart Meri of Estonia in talks with Iranian Ambassador Seyyed 'Ali Mahmudi in Tallinn the Estonian capital, on Tuesday said "unfortunatly human rights issues are being faced selectively without regard to religious and cultural needs of the society and in some cases misused to pressurize independant states."

Meri, reffering to Islamic Iran's important role in Asia, hoped for closer ties with Iranian officials and a meeting between the two heads of states either in Tehran or Tallinn.

Because of common views on international affairs, broadening of relationship is most needed, he stressed.

Mahmudi, commenting on recent international events years, said "The world today is going through a historical test and the population compares the deeds and promises of different countries to find out if phrases like democracy, freedom, justice and human rights are used for the good of mankind or as pressure tools."

The ambassador, emphasizing the importance of Baltic states for Iran, welcomed Iran-Estonia political, trade, parliamentary and cultural ties.

### Former Russian Bases To Serve Civilian Purposes

*WS2204095193 Tallinn BNS in English 1454 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Tallinn, Apr 21, BNS—Former Russian military bases in Estonia's Harju district have been turned over to local administrations for civilian use, the Estonian government said Tuesday.

The only exception is the Aegviidu tank base, one of the largest bases in the former Baltic military district. Part of it will be used by Estonian defense forces; the rest will be run by the local forestry department.

Although Russian forces still occupy most of the bases, each of them already has an owner.

"This is done so that the owner watches over the safety of the property and prevents looting as troops leave the premises," said Prime Minister Mart Laar, referring to problems that have occurred elsewhere.

## Latvia

### Foreign Minister Visits Germany; Four Documents Signed

*WS2204094893 Riga LETA in English 1329 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Riga, April 21 (LETA)—An official delegation from Latvia led by the Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs, visited the capital of Germany at an invitation of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Four documents were signed in Bonn on Tuesday, namely, a joint declaration on basic principles of mutual relationship, an agreement on cooperation in the field of culture, an accord on investment protection and a protocol on cooperation in training and extending qualification of economic managers and experts.

On Tuesday issues on cooperation in Europe and on bilateral relations were discussed at a meeting with the German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. Touching upon a controversial allegations of Russia, claiming that violation of human rights was taking place in Latvia, Klaus Kinkel reiterated the official stance of his country, namely, that there was no evidence of breaches of human rights in the Baltic Countries, as it was to be concluded from reports by commissions on the United Nations and other international bodies.

The German foreign minister pointed out that his country incessantly insisted upon immediate withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Baltic states in compliance with Article 15 of a document approved in Helsinki in 1992.

The Latvian delegation met also with representatives of several factions of the Bundestag during its visit in Bonn. Members of the delegation also participated in an opening ceremony of the new premises of the Latvian Embassy.

## Lithuania

### Brazauskas Receives Opposition Parliamentarians

*WS2204085393 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1248 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 231]

[Text] 20 April 1993—On April 20 the Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas received more than forty Members of Parliament - representatives of the right-wing opposition, into his office.

V. Lansdbergis, A. Stasiskis, A. Kubilius and other members of the Mothercountry's Concord stated their opinions on the Seym election results in the 20th Baltija, 22nd Pajuris and the 64th Sakiu electoral districts. They appealed to the President to stop the three LDLP acceptance oath into the Seym or exert his influence on the LDLP faction and let the Seym majority do this. Algirdas Brazauskas stated that he does not have the legal right to stop the swearing in oaths, that it is the decision of the Supreme Court and the will of the voters. I was chosen by more than a million voters, and I operate having the mandate of the nation, strictly keeping to the Constitution. I cannot be chief judge and untangle every argument raised in the state. Other institutions exist for this purpose, the Constitutional Court, - said Algirdas Brazauskas. He emphasized that his activities do not represent any party, but seek to express the interests of the whole nation.

Members of the Mothercountry's Concord also stated their opinions on the Seym's resolution to dissolve the Vilnius City Council. Algirdas Brazauskas emphasized that this question must find a compromise. He has already made several steps on April 19 suggesting at an LDLP faction meeting a compromise solution: debate the question once again in a Seym session and have the City Council abolish their decision on its dismissal as a trifle. Algirdas Brazauskas appealed to the Vilnius Council and the Seym to resolve this conflict by making mutual concessions.

### Landsbergis Views Russia's Political Crisis, Referendum

*WS2104131893 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in Lithuanian 3 Apr 93 No. 63 p 4*

[Article by opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis under the "Opposition Leader's Column" rubric: "Russia's Parallel (2)"]

[Text] We have heard more news from Russia of late. However, most items are not new.

Yeltsin has split the nation or the people, depending on the vocabulary.

Yeltsin is to blame for the reform which has made people's lives much more difficult. He alone is guilty for everything, and not Gaydar's or Chernomyrdin's governments. Why? He still enjoys the most popularity. He is dangerous to the anti-reformists or obstructionists; that is why he must be ruined.

As Yeltsin continues to be most popular (it is difficult to imagine that Russians could come to love Khasbulatov), Russia cannot ignore him for now. That is why it is forced to weaken his colleagues in arms or sue his aides.

They must bring action against someone immediately. Yeltsin's turn will come later, because it is he who destroyed the Soviet Union, together with Gorbachev.

Yeltsin's powers must be constantly restricted and he must be relentlessly accused of undertaking too many responsibilities and almost becoming a dictator. On the other hand, he must be continually blamed for doing too little. Let him always be on the defensive. He may get tired and begin making mistakes.

Yeltsin has violated the Constitution! (By the way, it is Comrade Brezhnev's patched-over Constitution, and some of its items contradict both its own articles and the new circumstances.) Others may have violated it as well. Who has more right to shout that someone has violated it?

Russia had its television once. Now it is being controlled by Comrade Congress, maybe through observers' councils. The congress will supervise television programs and purge the staff. We know this. Certainly, it will also take care of people's moods during the referendum, to prevent any surprises.

The president had the last chance—the referendum on the Constitution that would eliminate the Congress of People's Deputies, which is raging with fear and hatred. It is understandable why on 20 March, B. Yeltsin issued a decree announcing a referendum on the confidence in the president and the approval of the Constitution. Let the people decide! The congress was afraid to suppress this, and behaved cunningly. It left the confidence issue with unrealistic conditions (requiring that more than 50 percent of all voters express confidence in the president in order for him to remain in office—this is actually impossible to achieve in Russia), threw out the Constitution (the Brezhnevist one was better because it included the congress), and immortalized itself. The vote on whether new elections to the Congress are necessary or whether the current Congress should remain serves to preserve the congress—this splendid and absolute ruler of Russia.

The only problem is to finish off the minority president somehow. Following the example of one "close foreign" country, they could change the law and reduce the number of votes necessary to overthrow the president to the number of their seats in the Congress.

Then, they could peacefully and constructively vote no confidence in the person who has split the nation and dismantled the great Union.

Last June, B. Yeltsin told me in Moscow that he expected to have enough time to make the changes irreversible. Lithuania's experience shows, however, that a race with time is unreliable. We wanted to distance socialism as soon as possible, until the situation in Russia had not changed for the worse. We thought we had moved ahead. Presently, Estonia and Latvia have turned their backs on the "flexible" advocates of the Eastern trend. On the whole, Lithuania's legislative bulldozer is plowing backwards. Western aid for Russia will be delayed, as was the case in Lithuania. The West will hardly press Russia to completely withdraw its troops from Lithuania.

The political crisis in Russia is deepening and approaching a solution. A month may be left. "Does Russia have a force that could adopt Lithuania's model?" asks old-time politician F. Burlatskiy. He means the LDLP [Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party], and glances at the Russian "Citizens' Union." Meanwhile, the Russian Communist Party is re-registered and boasts of a membership larger than the number of people in all other parties taken together. The USSR CPSU also holds its congress. Is the ghost returning to Europe, as B. Yeltsin has warned, and bringing a cold war and conflicts with neighbors?

Are we in Europe? Have we ever been there? Are we going to at least defend ourselves?

## Migration From Republic Reaches Record Level

*PM2104123993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 13*

[Nikolay Lashkevich report: "Lithuania's Population Declines"]

[Text] Vilnius—According to statistics, Lithuania experienced record population migration last year. Three times as many people—27,324—left the republic as in the year before last.

Whereas during the eighties the number of new arrivals in the republic was constantly on the increase—peaking at 23,000 a year (with 14-16,000 people leaving, as a rule)—since 1989 the number of new arrivals has declined sharply, and the following year for the first time saw negative migration from the former Soviet republics—the difference being minus 6,600 people. Most people—almost 16,000—left Lithuania for Russia. Lithuanians account for 34 percent, and Russians 40 percent, of the new arrivals from the former Soviet republics, according to information provided by the Lithuanian Statistics Department.

This unfavorable demographic situation has already been reflected in the republic's overall population: The number of people living in Lithuania fell last year—by 10,000—for the first time in the past 40 years. The republic's population at the start of this year was 3,751,000.